Annals of Niagara.

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By William Kirby, F. R. S. C.

A story worth the telling, and if told
In simple truth, will shine like burnished gold.

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To the Rev. Canon Bull, President of the Lundy's Lane Historical Society, in admiration of his character as a loyal Canadian, and of his zeal and labour in the promotion of the study of Canadian History, these "Annals of Niagara" are respectfully dedicated by

THE AUTHOR.

NIAGARA, June, 1896.

[Entered according to Act of the Parliament of Canada, in the year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Ninety-Six, by WILLIAM KIRBY, in the office of the Minister of Agriculture.]

ANNALS OF NIAGARA.

CHAPTER I.

1640.

THE history of this famous old Town of Niagara offers matters of interest to all Canadians as the mother town from which began the first settlement of Upper Canada. Its annals date from the earliest record of the appearance of white men among the Indian tribes, found by them in possession of this District of Niagara.

The names and achievements of the early explorers and missionaries and of the traders and soldiers who have figured there would fill volumes of interest. This brief record of events is but an abridgment of abridgments—a skimming of the surface of the deeper waters of our history, which may one day be drawn upon more fully.

The legends and stories which cluster round Niagara will furnish the historians and poets of the future with precious and abundant material for help in building up the literature of our country in the generation not far ahead of us who are living in the last decade of the nineteenth century. A people without a history or without a national pride in it will not last long. It is those who honor their fathers, their mothers, and their country, who are promised long life in the land God gives them.

Be it as it may with the history of other countries, Canada will stand fast by its own, will instil it into the minds and hearts of her children, teach it diligently to the strangers who come to dwell within our borders, and defend it from falsification and neglect.

Riches are deceitful if they occupy too exclusively our thoughts

and energies in their acquisition. Pleasures and pastimes that are not the allowable relaxation of honest work or study, weaken the hands and dull the edge of the intellect—deadening the better feelings which dignify and adorn true manhood.

When Jacques Cartier landed at Quebec in 1634 a land utterly unknown lay before him. Its savage inhabitants, who greeted his arrival with friendly acts, seem to have been Iroquois, who told him, by signs, of great lands and waters and strange Indian nations that lived towards the setting sun. Half understanding, and curious to know more, Cartier sailed up the great river as far as Hochelaga, made many observations and returned to Quebec, whence he sailed back to France and reported the discovery of the vast country now Canada.

A lapse of seventy years took place after the voyage of Cartier before the country was again visited, by Champlain, and the first settlement made by French colonists on the banks of the St. Lawrence, about Quebec. A noteworthy fact was revealed to Champlain, that in the intervening period between the voyage of Cartier and his own the Indians who met him at Quebec, or Stadacona as it was called, were of a different language and tribe from those who had met Cartier in 1634. They were called by the French "Hurons," from their bushy mode of dressing their hair.

No historical record gives us any information as to the events which had led to this change of inhabitants. But a natural supposition is that the Hurons, who were at perpetual war with the Iroquois, had succeeded in expelling them from the Lower St. Lawrence—and probably from all the regions lying north of the St. Lawrence and the great lakes—and had themselves taken possession of the whole territory now comprising the Province of Ontario—with the remarkable exception of the country of the Neutral or Tobacco Nation, which extended from the mouth of the Niagara River and along the northern shores of Lake Erie probably to Detroit.

This vast territory was covered with dense forests of oak, maple, beech, hickory, elm and other hardwood trees; in the northern parts pine, cedar, hemlock and other evergreens predominated. These gloomy forests, trackless and often impenetrable, were only traversable along the streams and rivers that formed the only roads through

them. The country had everywhere abundant water—great swamps of cedar and tamarac held water the year round. The creeks and rivers were always brimming full. The surface of lakes and lakelets swarmed with wild fowl and their waters with fish. The dainty white fish—the attikameng or great herring of the Algonquins—moved in shoals of myriads round the shores of Lake Ontario. The trout—salmon trout, salmon, pickerel, herring, pike and sturgeon abounded. The forests were full of wild animals. The elk, deer, bear, wolf and panther were roaming everywhere, and in every small stream the industrious beaver built his dams and lived his useful peaceful life, with no enemy but man to fear. The wild turkey in droves ran about the forests, and in the spring of the year flocks of wild pigeons filled the heavens like clouds for days and weeks together. It was a land of tree-covered levels and undulating hills. So thick and dense was its wild vegetation that the sun rarely dried up the springs and creeks, which afforded abundant water for every use of animal life and vegetative nature. The silence of the great forests would have been unsupportable but for the sound of flowing waters and the cries of roaming animals and the chirp of birds, too seldom heard, yet ever cheerful as light thoughts in solitude.

The native tribes of this vast region were divided by language and customs into different nations, always at war with one another—war cruel and implacable—which was assuaged only by the extermination of their enemies.

The Hurons, in many links of a great chain, extended from the Ottawa to the shores of the great lake bearing their name. Their principal seat was the country bordering on the Georgian Bay, where they lived in villages rudely but strongly palisaded for defence against their ancient enemies, the Iroquois, who occupied the territory of the present State of New York, from New England to the foot of Lake Erie.

Between the Huron country and that of the Iroquois lay the Niagara River and the territory of the Neutral Nation, so called because in the incessant wars of the Iroquois and Hurons the Neutrals took no part, but allowed the two powerful enemies to traverse their lands at will in attacking or retreating before each other.

These Neutrals, sometimes called La Nation du Petun—the Tobacco

Nation—by the early French traders, were a numerous and warlike race, at war with everyone except the Hurons and Iroquois—to whom their land offered a perpetual truce—which neither Huron nor Iroquois dared break for fear of the Neutrals joining with their enemy.

This peculiar policy of the Neutral Nation served its object until the Iroquois finally conquered and drove out the Hurons from their territory, when they ungratefully turned their arms upon the Neutrals and exterminated them to the last man, about 1650.

The country of the Neutrals was chiefly on the west and north shore of Lake Erie and River Niagara, but they occupied also some land on the east side of the river. Their principal villages were on the west side. Their chief town, called Onghiara, now Niagara, was at the mouth of the river, at the point of its junction with the lake.

CHAPTER II.

1640.

THE present Town of Niagara occupies the exact site of this ancient Neutral village of Onghiara. The rich fisheries supplied its inhabitants with abundance and variety of fish. The extensive clearances, now the Niagara commons, were the cornfields which they cultivated for bread, pumpkins and beans—and possibly the Indian tobacco too, which formed a valuable article of use and trade with other tribes, and which won for them the French title of the Nation du Petun, or Tobacco Nation.

Nothing is on record as to the history of this Neutral Nation before Champlain's discovery of Lake Ontario, when he visited a portion of the Neutrals on the east side of the river—and records his visit—and nothing more was known of them until the Jesuit missionaries came among the Hurons, and in about 1640 heard of the Neutrals living to the south of them and separating the country of the Hurons from that of the Iroquois.

The Neutrals were known to the Hurons by the name of Attikadarons—people of a different dialect—and the Hurons were known to the Neutrals by the same name; and that is about all that is known of their name. The Neutrals and Eries, a branch of them, were totally destroyed by the Iroquois, and no trace of their language is left except in the solitary word of their chief town, Onghiara, or Niagara, to give it its modern form. The name was also given to the river; but whether the village was called after the river or the river after the village nothing is known. It may have been a still older name of some lost tribe which dwelt here before the Neutrals, for in North America, as far back as we can learn, revolutions and changes of place were of constant occurrence among the savage tribes who held these boundless forests and lakes.

The Seneca tribe of the Five Nations took possession of the east

side of the Niagara River after the destruction of the Neutrals in 1650.

They continued the name of Onghiara with a slight change, calling the river Nyahgeah. It was a foreign word to them to which no meaning was attached. They found the word when they came here, and its meaning remains an etymological puzzle.

Explanations of its meaning from the Iroquois and other Indian tongues are freaks of the imagination—vain diversions of modern Purleys of no value whatever.

The branch of the Neutrals called the Tobacco Nation by the French, were so called from their trading with other nations in the article of tobacco—not the product now known by that name all over the world, but the wild plant which was called kinnikinick or Indian tobacco. It was the common *lobelia inflata,* whose blue spikes of flowers adorn our fields and road sides, and whose pungent, acrid leaves and roots have an intoxicating quality well-known to those who use it. The Indians mixed its leaves with the bark of the red willow, and inhaled the smoke of it through pipes and puffed it out with great satisfaction from mouths, ears and nostrils.

It may be recalled, by the way, that a very popular system of medicine was in vogue in the early years of the settlement in Upper Canada, the basis of which was the peculiar potency of this lobelia or Indian tobacco. It was called the Thompsonian cure, and was much practiced in sicknesses of all kinds in the rural parts of our country. Profuse steaming and "Number Six," as it was called, were considered specific for most of the disorders of human life.

Whether this Indian tobacco was used by the Neutrals as a medicine cannot be affirmed. Most probably it was, for the savages are as prone as we are to try medicines compounded of herbs and faith. Certainly the majority of our people in Canada have a very robust faith in quack nostrums, if recommended by strong asseverations of their virtues.

To venture a guess—among a hundred vague guesses of others—one might conjecture that the name of our river meant the Tobacco river, from the Tobacco Nation upon its banks.

The river was called Onghiara from its mouth up to the Falls. Beyond the Falls it had no name, but was considered a mere exten-

sion of Lake Erie. The Iroquois found the name, and in their dialect called it Oienkwara, which means tobacco smoke, which word is nearly identical with Niagara.

There are slippery places in Indian philology, and we may well call to mind the famous sculptured stone of the Kaim of Kilprunes and the interpretation of its letters by that zealous antiquary, the Laird of Monk Barns—with their right meaning given by the old blue-gown, Edie Ochiltree, to the sad discomfiture of the over-learned antiquary.

Within a life time the accentuation of the name Niagara has been changed. We now place the accent on the antepenult syllable. The Indians, as the English, placed it on the penult, as we find it accented in Goldsmith's poem of "The Traveller," 1764:

> "Where wild Oswego spreads his swamps around,
> And Niagàra stuns with thundering sound."

Even so late as the war of 1812 the colours of the York Volunteers were decorated with the word "Niagaira," in honour of their services on this frontier, and which are still preserved in Toronto in recognition of their royal donor, George, Prince Regent.

When the Neutrals were totally exterminated by the Iroquois about 1650, the Seneca tribe took possession of their country on the eastern side of the Niagara, but not on the western side, which they allowed to be occupied by the Mississauguas, a branch of the great Chippawa Nation, who upon the expulsion of the Hurons from what is now western Ontario came down from the Northwest and claimed the territory as having belonged to them before the Hurons took it from them.

Their claim seems to have been admitted by the Iroquois, but no record exists of the transactions. The Mississauguas were allowed to take up the land as far as the Niagara River, and the site of the town of Onghiara became a chief settlement of the Mississauguas, where they were found in full possession by LaSalle on his first voyage to the west, in 1688.

The Mississauguas, or Great Sauks, lived like the rest of the Chippawas by the lakes and rivers, which they navigated with their beautiful birch bark canoes, subsisting more by fishing than by hunting.

The Attikameng, or great herring as the whitefish was called, abounded in Lake Ontario; also the salmon and salmon trout, glorious fishes, fit for a king's table. The pike, pickerel and maskinonge, the herring, sturgeon and other valuable fish, made a water paradise for the Mississauguas. Their women cultivated the open plains of Niagara for Indian corn, pumpkins, beans and probably the Indian tobacco, which, with peltry, held the place of money in the Indian countries.

The successive occupation of this territory by so many different tribes has left scarcely a mark behind them to inform posterity of their existence. A few burial places, some stone weapons and tools, pipes and rude pottery, are occasionally found, but no one can distinguish their respective owners. Nothing is to be learned from these remains except proof of the universal barbarism of the people using them. The ruined stone-built fort of Keniuto, on the edge of the mountain overlooking the plains near Lewiston, was the work of the Five Nations of Iroquois to serve as a place of defence and offence in the long wars carried through the midst of the Neutral Nation against the Hurons. Their warpath was from the lower Niagara, by way of Onghiara, and thence in canoes around the head of the lake to Toronto, and thence by way of Lake Simcoe to the country of the Hurons—a wild route and the scene of savage war and adventure in those barbarous times.

The only description of the Neutrals found recorded in history is in the letters of the Jesuit missionaries, who visited their country in 1640. It is a very interesting and full account of those vanished people; and as the only record of them, and containing all we know of them, deserves transcription here in the very heart and capital of the Neutral country.

In the annual report to their Superior of the Order of Jesuits in Paris for the year 1641 is found the annexed account of the Attikadarons or Neutral Nation, written probably by Father Brebœuf, who was the missionary who went to them from the Huron Nation north of them. He was accompanied by Father Joseph Marie Chanmout, who had come from France the previous year. The account is written in quaint old French, which translated reads as follows:

CHAPTER III.

Relation of New France, in the Year 1641.

Chapter VI.—Of the mission of Angels to the Attikadarons or people of the Neutral Nation.

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This nation is very populous; in it are to be counted about forty towns or villages. On leaving the Hurons we travel four or five days before we reach the first and nearest of them—that is to say about forty leagues, always going straight to the southward. So that we may say that if, according to the latest and most exact observations we have made, our new house of St. Mary, which is in the middle of the country of the Hurons, is placed in the forty-fourth degree and five and twenty minutes of latitude, the boundary of the Neutral Nation on the side of the Hurons will be about forty-two and-a-half degrees of elevation.

A more exact observation cannot, at the present time, be made, for the very sight of an astronomical instrument would drive wild those people who have not endured the sight of one, as we shall see by and by.

From the first village of the Neutral Nation, which we come to on arriving from here, and continuing our journey to the south or southwest, is about four days' journey from there to the mouth of the river so famous of that nation, in Ontario or Lake St. Louis. On this side of the river (and not on the farther side, as is marked on some maps,) are situated the most of the towns of the Neutral Nation. There are three or four on the farther side, ranging from east to west towards the nation of the Cat or Erie Chronons.

By this river are discharged the waters of our great lake of the Hurons, or *mer douce*—quiet sea—which first runs into Lake Erie, or

of the Cat Nation, and thence enters the country of the Neutrals and takes the name of Onguiaahra until it discharges into Ontario, or Lake St. Louis, whence arises the river which passes by Quebec called the St. Lawrence, so that if we were once master of the shore nearest the settlements of the Iroquois there would be no danger in ascending the St. Lawrence up to the Neutral Nation, and beyond, with notable saving of time and trouble.

The Rev. Fathers who have been there estimate that the population is at least twelve thousand souls in the whole extent of their country, which would enable them to furnish four thousand warriors, notwithstanding the wars, famine and the sickness which has prevailed among them for three or four years past.

After all, I am of opinion that those who have allowed such an extent to that country, and so many people, have understood by the term Neutral Nations all the other nations to the south and south-west of our Hurons, who are very numerous, but who at first were but confusedly known, all reckoned under one and the same name. The knowledge we have gained since then, both of the language and people, has enabled us to distinguish better among them.

Of all the different nations, however, which we now know, there is not one but has trade or war with others still more remote, a fact which shows that the population of these nations which are yet undiscovered is great, and that there are great harvests to reap and great fields in which to plough and sow.

The French, who were first here, named this nation the Neutral. And not without reason, for this country being on the ordinary land route of Iroquois and Hurons, sworn enemies, it remained at peace with both, equally. Witness, when the Hurons and Iroquois met together in the same village of this nation, both were in security until they went on the warpath again. But for some time past the fury of one against the other has been so great that in whatever place they met there was no safety for the weaker party, especially if the party were Hurons, for whom this Neutral Nation seems to have the least liking.

The Hurons call the Neutral Nation "Attiwandaronk," meaning people of a little different language, for as to nations who speak a tongue which they do not at all understand they call them

"Akwanake," of whatever nation they may be, as if they were foreigners.

We have reason to believe that no long time ago the Hurons, Iroquois and Neutral Nations were one people, that they sprang from one family or primitive stock planted on the shore of this region, but who in lapse of time became separated by distance one from another—some more, some less—in residence, interest and feeling, so that some of them became enemies, others neutral, while some remain in alliance and special relations with each other.

These people who are neutral between the Hurons and the Iroquois carry on cruel wars with other western nations, particularly with the Atsistachronons, or Fire Nation, from whom they carried off last year a hundred prisoners, and this year, having a force of two thousand men, they captured over a hundred and seventy, whom they treated with the same cruelties which the Hurons exercise upon their enemies. But they exceed them in this, they burn the women prisoners of war as well as the men, a thing which the Hurons do not do, who either spare their lives or are content with killing them at the feast and carry off some part of their bodies.

In food and clothing the Neutrals do not differ materially from the Hurons. They have in abundance Indian corn, beans and pumpkins. Fish is likewise plentiful, some kinds of which are found in certain places which are not found elsewhere.

The Neuters excel in hunting. They chase the deer, buffalo, wild cats, wolves, bears, beaver and other animals whose skins and flesh are valuable. There was great abundance of meat this year by reason of the uncommon snows which have prevailed, which have made hunting easier. It is a rare thing to see in this country more than half a foot of snow, but this year there has been over three feet of snow. They have also wild turkeys, which go in flocks through the woods and fields.

As for refreshing fruits no more are found here than among the Hurons. They have chestnuts in great quantity and wild apples a little larger in size.

They wear a robe of skin upon their bare bodies like all the Indians, but with less of care about the breechcloth than the Hurons have. Many of them do not wear it at all. Some wear it, but

generally in such a way that they hardly conceal what ought to be covered. The women are usually clothed, at least from the waist to the knees. They seem to be more abandoned and impudent in their immodesty than the Hurons.

They embroider their robes with much care and industry, and try to ornament them in divers fashions. They also make figures upon their bodies from head to foot with charcoal pricked into their flesh, upon which they have previously traced their lines, so that we see their faces and breasts figured like the helmets and cuirasses of soldiers in France, and the rest of front part of the body.

As to the rest of their customs and manners of living, they are in all respects similar to the other savages of these countries, particularly in regard to their irreligion and government, whether political or economical.

Still there are always a few things in which they differ from our Hurons. In the first place, they appear to be larger, stronger and better built men.

Secondly, their affection for their dead seems to be greater. Our Hurons immediately after death take the corpse to the burying place, and only withdraw it thence at the feast of the dead.

The Neutrals do not take the corpse to the burying place, but keep it as long as they are able, until decomposition renders it insupportable.

A corpse often passes the whole winter in the wigwam, and when they place it at last outside upon a scaffold to decay they draw out the bones as soon as possible and exhibit them to sight, arranged on one side or other of their wigwams, until the feast of the dead.

These objects being continually before their eyes renew the sense of their loss and make them cry and lament with lugubrious songs, but this is only done by the women.

The third point in which they differ from our Hurons is in the multitude and quality of fools or crazy among them. We find everywhere on going through the country people who play the fool with all the extravagance possible, and in the liberties which they take they are tolerated and allowed to do whatever they please for fear of offending the evil spirit that is in them. They throw and scatter about coals of fire from the hearths and break whatever they meet

with as if they were mad, although for the most part they are as much masters of themselves as other people. They act in that manner they say to please their evil spirit who demands it of them, to wit: him who speaks in dreams to them and gives them to hope for the successes of their wishes in hunting.

While the missionaries were in these parts they learned that the Sonontouchronons (Senecas), one of the Five Nations, had a peculiar form of government. Men and women took in turn the direction of public affairs, so that if a man governs them now he will be succeeded by a woman, who in turn will govern them for her lifetime, except in affairs of war. After the death of the woman a man will have the management of affairs.

Some of the old people told our missionaries that they knew of a certain western nation with whom they used to go to war, who were not very far from the sea. These fished for vignots, which are a species of oyster, the shell of which serves to make porcelaine, which are the pearls of that country. They describe the fishing for them in this way:

They observed that when the tides rise where these vignots abound, and when the violence of the waves drive them towards the shore, they throw themselves recklessly into the water and seize on all they can lay hold of. They find them sometimes so large in size that it is with difficulty they can embrace one. Some of the elders assured us that the young men who followed this fishing must have no knowledge of a woman, and withdraw themselves from them. I report truly.

They relate moreover that those people carry on a sort of war with certain aquatic animals, bigger and swifter in running than the caribou. The young men tease these animals while in the water, which immediately come to land to pursue their aggressors. Then seeing themselves closely followed, throw down a piece of leather or moccasin before the animals, which stop and amuse themselves with it while the hunters gain ground on them, and as often as they find themselves close pressed repeat the same manoeuvre, until they reach a fort or ambuscade where a troop of their people are gathered and surround the beast and master him. This is what we learned of chief importance about those countries.

CHAPTER IV.

1640.

MANY of the Frenchmen who have been here formerly made journeys in the country of the Neutrals for sake of the profits and advantages of the fur trade, and other small gains to be hoped for there. But we know of none who went there with the intention to preach the gospel except the Reverend Pere Joseph de la Roche Daillon, a Recollet, who in 1626 passed the winter there. But the Frenchmen who were here at that time, having heard of the ill treatment which he had received, and fearing that matters would turn worse, sought him and brought him back the following spring.

The zeal which led this father to make that voyage as soon as ever he had set foot among the Hurons, did not allow him to study the language, so that he found himself for the most part of the time without an interpreter, and was compelled to teach as well as he could by signs rather than with living voice, as he himself relates in a printed letter of his. This, added to the bad tricks which the Hurons played upon him, who feared the loss of their trade, like those others of whom we will speak by and by, did not allow him in the short space of time to do what he had wished to do for the service of God.

Fourteen years afterwards the two Fathers of our company, who have charge of this mission, set out from this House of St. Mary on the second day of November last year, 1640.

When arrived at St. Joseph, or Teanaustajae, the last village of the Hurons, where they were to procure their provisions for the route and find guides for the way—those who had promised them having failed to keep their word—all they could do was to address themselves to Heaven.

After making a vow, Pere de Brebœuf met a young man who had no intention of making this voyage. I do not know by what

movement he addressed him, for he only spoke to him these two words: *Quio ackosse*—"Up! let us go!" This young man followed him immediately and was a faithful companion. There accompanied them two of our French servants, as much for aid in the voyage as to make a pretence of trading and passing for merchants through the country in case that without this latter consideration they found the doors of the wigwams closed to them—as, in effect, it happened.

They slept four nights in the woods, and on the fifth day reached the first village of the Neutral Nation, called Kandoucho, to which they gave the name of All Saints.

As they were not ignorant of the bad disposition of mind in those people, drenched by the evil talk which had been used regarding us in our missions during the past years and which was all they had learned of us, it was judged advisable to explain our intentions to a meeting of elders and chiefs.

It was necessary to address ourselves to the chief who manages their public affairs, named Tsohahissen. His village was situated in the middle of the country. In order to get there we had to pass through several other villages and towns. On arriving at which our missionaries were astonished at the fear which preceded them, and which caused the doors of the wigwams to be shut against them.

The name of Echon, which was that which the Indians gave always to Pere de Brebœuf, resounded everywhere as that of the most notorious wizard or demon that could be imagined.

However, the pretence of trade softened everything, and in consideration of this they reached the village of the principal chief, who was found to have gone on a war-like expedition, from which he would not return until spring. Our missionaries addressed themselves to those who in his absence managed public affairs. Explained to them their intention of preaching the gospel throughout the whole extent of their country, and to make a particular alliance with them, in proof of which they had brought a belt of two thousand beads of porcelaine, which they desired to present to the people.

The chiefs, after consultation, replied that the chief of the country being absent they could not accept any presents before his return, as their custom obliged them to make return presents; that

if we would wait until then we might in the meantime go freely through the country and give whatever instruction we pleased.

Nothing could have happened better to give time for enlightening these chiefs, and to make a beginning in the taming of these savage minds. But before starting the fathers thought it best to return to the mission and take back our own servants, and then a second time return and begin their function. This they did, but the pretence of trade failing them they had in consequence to suffer a thousand calumnies which were raised concerning their visit.

Our Hurons reported that Echon, on setting foot for the first time in their country, had said: "I shall be here so many years; I will make so many die, and then I will go elsewhere and do the same, until I shall have ruined the whole land."

Others of them said that Echon, after having caused by sickness the death of a part of the Hurons, had gone to make alliance with the Sonontouchronons, who are a Nation of Iroquois, the most dreaded and the nearest neighbours to our Hurons, as being distant but one day's journey from the last town of the Neutral Nation eastward, called Onguiaahra, the same name as the river; that he had gone to find them in order to give to them belts of wampum and iron arrow heads, and to incite them to come and destroy the country.

Others again whispered in our ears that we must be cautious in this business, and that the reason of the murder of a Frenchman some years previous was solely the object of our visit: it was journeys like ours which caused jealousy and fear by our not carrying of articles of trade.

Others of them said that after the burial of that excellent Christian, Joseph Chiouatenhoua, Echon, going to the country of Sonontouchronons, who had killed him, said aloud: "O, Sonontouchronon! thou art undone! thou art dead," and that the Father immediately went towards their region to carry there the sickness which was among their powerful enemies during the sojourn of the Fathers in the Neutral Nation. Thereupon the Hurons besought us to take courage and cause all their enemies to perish.

From their departure to their return I do not know that a week passed without some one bringing us news that, from our having been discovered in the Neutral Nation by their enemies, some of the Hurons

had been massacred. But I am not sure that these reports might not have been raised by the savages of our own quarters, who had held evil designs for a long time, and which they thought no time was more favorable than the present to execute with impunity, when the massacre might be attributed to others rather than to themselves, and which, taking place in a foreign country, they would not be held responsible for it.

However this may be, it is certain that one of our Hurons, called Aouenhokoui, nephew of one of the principal chiefs of this country, in company with another Huron, went through several villages of the Neutral Nation while the fathers were there and said they were sent on the part of the chiefs and elders of their region, with presents of hatchets, which they showed, in order to counsel the chiefs that they should not trust these Frenchmen if they did not want to see the ruin of the country.

These bringers of advice added that in case of a refusal to strike the blow the Hurons had firmly resolved to do so at once on the return of the Fathers, and that the thing would have been done already if we had not all gone to live together in one house.

This Aouenhokoui having met on his way the Fathers in a village, paid a thousand civilities to them and invited and almost forced them to go with him further into the interior of the country, but they having business elsewhere let him go. Afterwards on learning the talk and proposals of this person, and considering over with some Indians of the country what could be the intentions of this Aouenhokoui in pressing them to go on a journey with him, conjectured that there was nothing but evil in it. This man, although the most dangerous, was not the most impudent and bold. A man named Oentara came from the Neutral Nation after having spread through the country the bad reports and calumnies of which the preceding relations are full. Such as, that we kept sickness in our house, that our writings were witchcrafts, that we had caused everyone to die among the Hurons under pretence of making presents, and that we intended to kill all the rest of the country, adding that everyone should shut their doors against us unless they wished to see speedy destruction there, and he was impudent enough to main-

tain all this in the presence of the Fathers and of some of the chiefs, who disputed his statements and confronted them with others.

But although Father Brebœuf refuted completely these bad spirits, shutting the mouths of all of them, still the poison which they had instilled could not easily be got out of the hearts of these poor savages, who dread everyone except him who alone is to be feared and held in awe. Several other Hurons having in the meantime arrived, they confirmed all those stories, and gave out so much objection against us to the chiefs and leaders, that by the end of two months and-a-half after the missionaries had commenced their labours those whom they had applied to at the beginning and who had referred their case to the return of Tsohahissen, the head chief, sent for them and told them that they now had the power to decide pressing affairs in the absence of Tsohahissen; that they began to think that our business was of that nature and consequently that they would deliberate upon it at once.

Thereupon they made a pretence of holding a council to deliberate upon this affair, which was already decided upon amongst themselves. One of them went to the Fathers to declare the result to them, which was this: That they refuse their present.

The Fathers replied that that was not the only thing which had brought them hither, but principally the desire of giving them the knowledge of a God and of His Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and therefore they wished to know whether they refused to be taught as well as reject the present. They answered to this that they accepted the faith which had been preached to them, finding nothing but what was good in it, but the present they refused absolutely.

The missionaries were satisfied enough with this answer, thinking they had gained the principal object they had in view, namely, the liberty of preaching and spreading the gospel in the country. They judged it proper, however, to ask the reason of the refusal of the present, saying that having been commissioned to give it they would have to account for the refusal. They replied that their store of goods was poor, and they had nothing wherewith to make a return present.

The Fathers replied that if that was all they should make no difficulty about the acceptance of their present; that they renounced

any return of presents or acknowledgment of that kind; that it sufficed us if they held us as brothers.

They persisted in their refusal, and not being able to offer a pretext which was not immediately set aside, the chief of the council said: He! what! don't you know what Aouenhokoui said, and why he has come hither? and finally the danger in which you are, and in which you place the country?

We tried to reply to that as to the rest, but they turned a deaf ear to us and compelled us to retire.

The missionaries, however, did not consider themselves driven from the country by the result of this council. They judged rightly, however, that if in the past they had had trouble in going through the villages they would now meet with greater obstacles than before, and so it was. No sooner they approached a village than a cry arose on all sides, "Here come the Agua!" (this name they give to their greatest enemies) "Bar up the doors!" So that when the Fathers came to the wigwams to go in, according to the custom of the country, they were met generally by a face of wood. They were looked upon as sorcerers who brought death and misfortune every where, so that if any one did receive them it was more through fear of vengeance upon a refusal than through expectation of any profit by them—God making use of them to aid his servants.

It is incredible into what terror the stories of our Hurons had thrown the minds of these poor barbarians, who were by their own nature very mistrustful, particularly of strangers, and especially of us, of whom they had never heard only but what was bad—all the tales and calumnies forged by our Hurons in past years having completely filled their ears and minds.

The sight alone of the Fathers made and clothed in a fashion so different from theirs, their gait, their gestures and all their deportment seemed to bring conviction of the truth of that they had been told. The prayerbooks, writing materials and manuscripts were taken to be instruments of magic. If the Fathers knelt to pray to God they thought it was an exercise of sorcerers. When we washed our dishes in the brook they said we poisoned the water, and that in all the wigwams we passed by the children were seized with coughs and a bloody flux, and the women become sterile. In short, there

was no misfortune present or to come of which they were not looked upon as the authors. Many of those in whose wigwams the Fathers lodged could not sleep night or day. They dared not touch their leavings, gave them back their presents, holding everything in suspicion. The good old women regarded themselves as lost, and sorrowed for their grandchildren who might not be spared to re-people the land.

The chiefs used to alarm the Fathers about an invasion of the Sonontouchronons (the Senecas), who they said were close by. Others did not conceal that as our presents had not been accepted there was no safety for us in the country. The insolence and tyranny of some of our hosts were insupportable. They ordered us about like slaves, and wanted us to obey in everything. Sometimes they gave us almost nothing to eat, and at other times compelled us to go to their relations; to eat whatever they set for us, and pay whatever they charged.

In short, they spoke of nothing but killing and eating these two poor Fathers. The fools ran continually through the villages and into the wigwams. Three of them naked as your hand came into the wigwam where the Fathers were, and after showing off their tricks departed. At other times these fools would come and seat themselves near them and ask to feel in their sacks, and after taking what they fancied went off acting the fool. The Fathers really seemed to be like balls with which the demons played in the midst of this barbarism, but with the command of Divine Providence that nothing should be wanting to them. In effect, during the four months they were there they lacked nothing necessary to their lives, neither bed nor board sufficient for life, and they always enjoyed good health amidst pains and inconveniences which may easier be conceived than expressed. Their work was to make a provision of some bread baked under the ashes in the fashion of the country, which they kept for thirty or forty days to serve them in case of necessity.

CHAPTER V.

1640.

THE Fathers passed in their journey eighteen towns or villages, to which they gave Christian names, which we shall use occasionally hereafter. In especial they stopped at ten, in which they gave as much instruction as they could find audience for. They reckoned there were about five hundred fires and three thousand persons in those ten villages, to whom they preached the gospel, but the sound of it could hardly be heard in the whole country. We only make a statement of our calculation as to those three thousand.

The Fathers, seeing their minds so disposed, and the reports and fears ever increasing more and more, thought it advisable to go back and return to the first village of Kandoucho, or All Saints, where they appeared to be better received. They thought to work at the instruction of the people there until spring, when we had intended to send and fetch them back.

But God disposed things otherwise for both sides, for they having reached half-way on their return to the village of Teotongniaton, surnamed St. William, the snow fell so deep that it was impossible to travel further. This misfortune, if it can be called such, was the occasion of a piece of good luck and the greatest consolation they received in their whole journey. They had not been able to remain in any place in peace and quiet, to enable them to study ever so little the language of the country and make themselves more efficient for the future. They found themselves lodged in this village in the wigwam of a woman who studied to make them as comfortable as all others in the past had given them annoyance and trouble.

She took especial pains to make the best cheer for them she could, and seeing that by reason of Lent they ate no flesh, of which she had at this season abundance, on which alone she fed those in her wigwam, she took pains to cook for them a separate pot, seasoned

with fish, much better than she had cooked for herself. She took a singular pleasure in teaching them her language, dictating to them the words syllable by syllable as a teacher would do to a little scholar, telling them also whole narratives, such as they wished to hear. Taking example from her, the young children, who elsewhere fled and hid themselves from their presence, strove with each other to render good offices, and could not leave off entertaining them and giving them contentment, whether in the language or in anything else.

That was not all. When all the other people in the village cried out that she should drive away the Fathers, and to frighten her with the misfortunes which they brought with them, she laughed at them, and refuted so pointedly all the calumnies they told, telling them she knew they were false by what she herself had seen of the behaviour of the Fathers, that we could not ourselves have done it better. When some one menaced her with death and desolation in her family, which would follow the departure of the Fathers, and that because she had received them into her house, she replied that it was a common thing for men to die, and she expected to die also, but that those who spoke in that manner were the ones who wanted to bewitch and kill her and her children. Finally, that she preferred to expose herself and family to the risk of death rather than send the Fathers away in such weather, when they might perish in the snow.

She had not only to reply to those outside, but also to some within her wigwam, who cast up to her that her father being a sorcerer it was no wonder she took pleasure in entertaining sorcerers. But that did not shake her more than the rest. The little children used to have quarrels with their companions on this subject, and fought in defence of the Fathers. The amount of it was that this good woman never wearied under so many importunities, nor left off her care and good cheer for the Fathers up to the day of their departure, the sole regret of whom on leaving was that they had not been able to impart to her the good gift on account of which we had visited the barbarous people of this country. The mere desire to do so was not enough. They hope that the good prayers of all who shall hear of her hospitality will obtain the accomplishment of that which they had begun to work in her mind.

The great regret of this woman was not to be able to prevent the violence suffered by the Fathers. A fool of her wigwam began to spit upon Father Chaumont and to tear his gown, and wanted to burn him, and kept singing insults, and made such a racket for several nights that the Fathers could not sleep. Others came and forcibly carried off in their presence their most valuable articles, and spoke of nothing less than of burning them, and that was all the satisfaction they got, and perhaps they would have carried out their threat if their good angels had not stopped them.

The father of this good woman came round at last and approved of all that his daughter had done for the Fathers. He showed them a particular affection, promising to come and see us at our house. I pray our Lord that his steps may not be in vain.

It was undoubtedly a providence of God that the Fathers were detained in this place, for in the twenty-five days that they stayed in this wigwam they were enabled to compare the dictionary and grammar of the Huron language with that of their people, and completed a work which would have deserved a visit of several years in the country. Our Indians are much better pleased with those who speak their language than with those who only approach them, and whom they regard, so far, as mere strangers.

On our part, we receiving but rarely news from them, the Hurons who were intrusted with our letters lost them on the road or threw them away through fear or hatred. We were very anxious to know what was going on. We resolved at last to send persons with them on their return. Our converts of the Conception offered themselves willingly to go on this errand, notwithstanding all the reports which went round as to what was occurring. Two of them, accompanied by two of our servants, undertook the journey. God was pleased to grant their return to us, after eight days travel and fatigue in the woods, on the day of St. Joseph, Patron of the country, and they came in time to say mass, which they had not heard said since their departure.

Amidst all these turmoils and storms the Fathers did not cease to provide for the safety of the little children, old men and sick persons, whom they met and found capable of help. In all the eighteen villages which they visited there was found but one, namely

Khioetoa, surnamed St. Michael, which gave them a hearing such as their embassy deserved.

In this village a certain foreign nation from beyond the Eries, or Nation of the Cat, had found a refuge from their enemies. They were called Awenrehronon. They seem to have come to this region only to enjoy the happiness of this visit and to have been led by the Providence of the Good Shepherd to listen here to his voice.

They were sufficiently instructed, but the Fathers did not think proper to baptize them. The Holy Ghost will ripen the seed which has been sown in their hearts, and in his time will be gathered the harvest which has been watered by so much sweat of the brows.

It was among this nation that the Fathers made their first baptism of adults, in the person of a good old woman who had become deaf. In this baptism the affection of a good woman, who served as interpreter to the Fathers, was remarkable by declaring to her the mysteries of our faith more clearly and efficaciously than the Fathers had before explained to herself. The poor woman had no reply to make except that being already old she would find the road to heaven too hard for her, moreover, she possessed nothing for a present to the Fathers, and that she should have waited for the return of her children from hunting in order to get from them clothes fit to wear.

It was easy to satisfy her on this matter, and she was at length happily baptised. Two or three other adults participated in the happiness of this visit, and a number of little children who have gone in advance to heaven. A little Huron two years old, which lived in the Neutral Nation, was sick. He recovered for this time, but some months afterwards, when he had returned to his country, he was killed by the enemy in the arms of his mother.

The Fathers have related in their *memoires* that one of the special providences of God in this place was the fact that one of the servants sent to bring them back had been stricken and marked by smallpox. When the savages of this region saw him they disabused themselves of the belief, which had been instilled into their minds, that we were immortal demons and the masters of sicknesses, which we ruled at our pleasure.

Since so trifling a matter has begun to unseal their eyes, they

may in time be able to disabuse themselves entirely, and thus be able to receive instruction and the visits of heaven. Meantime we see clearly that it is God alone who has protected us among this strange people, since even among the Hurons, who are our allies, our lives have often been attempted. Here is what happened a short time ago:

The people of the Neutral Nation are always at war with the Nation of Fire, who live far distant from us. They went last summer in number two thousand and attacked a village that was well fortified by a palisade, and which was stoutly defended by nine hundred warriors, who sustained their assault. They forced the palisade after a siege of ten days, killed a large number on the spot and took eight hundred prisoners—men, women and children. After having burnt seventy of the principal warriors, they put out the eyes and cut off the lips of the old men, round their mouths, so that they might drag out a miserable existence after their departure. This is the calamity which unpeoples all these lands. Their warfare is nothing but mutual extermination.

This Nation of Fire is more numerous than all the Neutrals, Hurons and Iroquois put together. It contains a great number of villages, which speak the Algonquin language, which is common still farther on.

The Nation of Fire bears this name erroneously. They are properly called Maskoutench, which signifies "a country stripped of trees," such as that is which these people inhabit, but by reason of a slight change of letters in the name the word comes to signify fire. Hence it happens that they have been called the Nation of Fire. Their country was in the present Illinois.

So far, the Relation of the Jesuits touching the Neutrals.

The total destruction of the Huron Nation by the Iroquois took place about 1645. It was followed by the utter extermination of the Neutrals and Cats, about 1650. The cause of the war made upon the Neutrals is not known. There are hints here and there in the relations that they had favored the Hurons, and this brought upon them the implacable fury of the Iroquois. Nothing is on record as

to the course of this war of extermination but the proof that the land had become a howling wilderness without a human inhabitant and open to the occupation of the first invader.

The missionaries Brebœuf and Lallemant were put to death with cruel tortures at the Huron settlement at Matchedash on the Georgian Bay. A few of the Hurons escaped to Quebec, where their descendants still remain, and a few to the shores of Lake Erie. With these exceptions, the nation disappeared.

The movements of vast tribes of Indians from one part of the continent to another, by reason of continual wars, is a history which can never be written now. No one was there at the time to record the changes. The Jesuits have left us an intelligible account of the destruction of the Hurons, and that is all. The history of the Neutral land from the extirpation of its people by the Iroquois until the arrival of LaSalle at Niagara in 1678, is a blank. How, when or why, the Chippaways came into what is now Western and Central Ontario, is unknown.

We may be certain, however, that it was only by permisssion of the Five Nations of Iroquois—a proud, conquering people, then in the heighth of their ascendancy—that the Chippawa tribes came into the vacant territories of the Hurons and the Neutrals. They may have assisted the Iroquois in their war. But, however it was done, no record remains of the entry of the Chippaways, the remains of whom are to be found to-day in various parts of Ontario.

The fate of the Nation du Petun, that branch of the Neutrals called the Tobacco Nation, is recorded in the Relations as, being more distant from the River Niagara, most of them escaped the fury of the Iroquois and fled to Lakes Huron and Superior. They first found refuge in the Island of Michillimacinac, but being attacked by the Sioux, they removed to LaPointe on Lake Superior. They afterwards again removed back to Michillimacinac and were there at the date of the Relations. The remains of them appear to have melted into the mass of other tribes, as they are now quite extinct. Of the Neutrals and Eries not a trace, and barely a memory, remains, except as recorded in the Relations of the Jesuit Missionaries.

There does not appear to have been any Indian settlement on the side of the river opposite to the old town of Onghiara. It is

mentioned by Margary, that when LaSalle arrived at the mouth of the river he landed first on the eastern side and was ferried over to this side in the canoes of the Mississauguas, who had settled here. This was his first resting place after his voyage from Frontenac. He saw, however, the admirable situation of the point of land on the eastern shore, and after examining it decided to build there a stockade and trading post preparatory to a fort, which he had in contemplation, as a stronghold of French power and influence over the Indians in this part of North America.

LaSalle, the greatest explorer of the unknown interior of this continent, was a Frenchman who came out on a trading venture to Quebec, a man of courage and intelligence, a born traveller and explorer. He had established his first trading post at Frontenac, under a license and grant from the French government. Learning from the Indians who visited that post the extent and grandeur of the great lakes, rivers and lands of the west, he resolved to visit them. The spirit of discovery which seized him led to momentous results.

The history of LaSalle's voyages and travels, his discovery of the Mississippi, his sufferings and death by treachery in his company, form a wonderful record of bravery and perseverance, of weal and woe. We can only touch on it in one or two places, and that briefly.

CHAPTER VI.

1678.

LA SALLE, finding that the great lakes could only be navigated safely by a ship of suitable size, despatched the enterprising Father Hennepin with a number of artizans to the Falls of Niagara, to prepare for the building of a vessel, which he hoped would be in course of construction on his arrival, while he stayed behind to superintend the building of his stockade at the mouth of the river.

Father Hennepin and his companions, after a tedious canoe voyage, landed in the winter of 1678 at what is now Lewiston. They disembarked their stores and ascended the "three mountains," the triple terrace of the socalled mountain recognizable to-day. They broke a road through the dense woods until they reached the Falls, where Hennepin, guided by the roar and mist, saw the great cataract, the first white man, presumably, who had ever set eyes on that natural wonder.

His destination was a spot a mile above the Falls, where he found a suitable site for his proposed shipyard. He put up shanties for shelter and set to work at once in cutting and preparing timber for his vessel, which was to bear the name of "Le Griffon"—with the heraldic crest of Frontenac—Governor of New France.

The place of the building of the first vessel that ever floated on the upper lakes was located on the bank of the river just above Goat Island, where the little village of LaSalle or Schlosser now stands. The party met with no obstruction from the wild natives, who gazed in silent wonder at the operations of the white strangers, and in their way assisted them by bringing in game and other provisions for their sustenance.

LaSalle was absent also a short time on a sort of diplomatic mission to the Senecas, so that he did not join the party at the Falls until the spring of 1679, when he found the Griffon nearly finished.

She was launched, fitted out and manned, and in the early summer of 1679, under the command of LaSalle, set sail on her venturous voyage of exploration of the unknown lands and waters of the Continent of North America.

It does not come within the scope of this work to follow the gallant explorer in his voyages and travels to the far west, his discovery of the Upper Mississippi, and his sad fate and death in the wilderness at a spot not yet identified by the researches of posterity.

LaSalle commenced his first stockade on the site of Fort Niagara in the winter of 1678. He foresaw that it would become a bulwark of French power in this region. It grew into a large fortress, which remained under the control of France for the next eighty years.

The history of Fort Niagara, from the time of its foundation by LaSalle, touches upon every point of French influence in the great west. It was at first a stockade, defended by palisades, subsequently enlarged into a regular fortification of earth works.

The Marquis of Denonville, after his campaign against the Iroquois in 1685, visited Niagara, and seeing the strength and importance of the place ordered the fort to be rebuilt of stone, which was found in abundance at the mountain at Queenston. The present socalled castle and a stone blockhouse were erected in pursuance of his plans, by order of Governor Vaudreuil, in 1726, and finally the fort and its defenses were completed, in 1758, by Colonel Pouchot, who commanded the fort in its great siege by General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson in the year 1759.

Fort Niagara stood like a lone rocky island out of the ocean of lakes and forests that surrounded it on every side. It became a great mart for the fur trade with the Indian tribes, a center for the civilization of the interior of the Continent. Out of its gates and into them flowed a constant stream of missionaries, soldiers, traders and voyagers to trade and intrigue for supremacy with the English of New York, and to extend French power over all the west, even down to Louisiana. All the intervening territories were claimed as the possession of France, and Fort Niagara was the gateway that led to them.

Fort Niagara kept guard over these trade routes. The main line from this post went up the Niagara river by water to Lewiston,

thence by land on the great portage round the falls to Little Niagara as it was called, where the canoes took water again and passed up the Niagara to Lake Erie, and followed the south shore of the lake to the fort and entrepot of Detroit. Another line led to the head waters of the Ohio, and another by way of Lake Michigan, led to the Illinois country and the great river Mississippi. The names remaining of French posts along all these routes attest the boldness and enterprise of the traders and explorers of the French nation of that day.

The rule of France came nearly being fixed and consolidated in the interior of our continent. If the wise statesmanlike views of Governor LaGalisonniere had prevailed, and if French Canadian interests had been conducted with prudence and patriotism in the French court, there seems little room for doubt in any unprejudiced mind acquainted with the facts of the times but that the vast interior of North America, with Canada, would have been French and not English at the present day.

LaGalisonniere saw clearly that the weakness of Canada lay in its relative paucity of population compared with that of the English colonies, increased as the latter were by large immigration from the British Isles and Germany and a continual flow of convicts, slaves and redemptionists, which added to the increase of the population, but to the notable decrease of public and private morality in the colonies. The influence of this convict element was no small factor in the development of the revolution of 1776.

France had no means to balance this increasing preponderance. LaGalisonniere proposed to his government that they should send out ten thousand French peasants and settle them in the Ohio and Illinois country to secure these regions to France, but no respect was paid to his advice, and things were let drift on to their consummation.

The national questions opened up by LaGalisonniere form now only matters of empty speculation. The decrees of Providence ordered that North America should be English and not French. All controversies on that point were settled by Wolfe at Quebec and by Sir William Johnson at Niagara in 1759.

The French occupation of Fort Niagara lasted eighty years, from its foundation by LaSalle to its surrender to Sir William Johnson.

It was held strictly as a garrison and trading post. No attempt was made to colonize the country in the vicinity of the fort. A few families belonging to the fort and portage seem to have cultivated a few fields and gardens on either side of the river. The Mississaugua Indians occupied the site of Onghiara, and raised crops of corn and beans on the old plains of the Neutrals. Adjoining the fort was one farm, to which was given the name of *La Belle Famille* —the pretty family—either in admiration or irony of its occupants. That farm covered the site of the present village of Youngstown. A few workmen connected with the royal storehouses lived at Lewiston, socalled after Lewis XIV., King of France.

On the Canadian side of the river opposite the fort was only the Mississaugua village. No traces of the French occupation remain here except in a few French names on the old maps, but totally forgotten or rather never known to the English settlers who came into this region. The *Marais Normand* (the Norman marsh) in Niagara township is now called the Black Swamp. The *Marais de la biche*, the Swamp of the Doe, lies in Louth. *La riviere a deux sorties*, the creek with two outlets, is probably the Sixteen and Twenty mile creeks.

The country on the Canadian side was a dense, almost impenetrable, wilderness of forest and swamp to the foot of the mountain. It was heavily timbered with oak—white, black and red—beech, elm, hickory, maple, ash and chestnut, with groves of pine scattered on the sandy ridges that occasionally were met with. The timber was of great size. One giant oak stood until a few years ago on the farm of Mr. Peter Servos, Jr., Lake Road, seven feet across the trunk. Another stood on the summit of the old burying place of Butler's Rangers, near Niagara town, a grand imposing relic of our primeval woods. This tree was ruthlessly cut down a few years ago for firewood, and in its fall smashed a number of the old historical gravestones of the Butlers and others, buried there.

Fort Niagara, by successive additions, grew into a large well fortified garrison, on the point of land on the east side of the embouchure of the river. It contained the main castle—still standing —two strong stone blockhouses and ranges of barracks, all surrounded by a deep ditch on the land side, and heavy palisades with an

outwork and batteries facing the south. Colonel Pouchot, the commandant in 1759, built the eastern blockhouse and a chapel; the site of the latter is still undetermined. In the middle of the large area of the fort was erected a cross eighteen feet high, and on it an inscription, painted in large letters, as follows:

REGN. VINC. IMP. CHRIS.

The explanation of these abbreviated words has exercised the Latinity of Bishops and learned laymen in North America. Many and different have been their explanations. I tried my own skill once at the problem, without more success than others, I fear. But I have since found a likely solution in the diary of the learned John Evelyn, who, in his visit to Rome in 1643, describes the obelisk that stands in front of St. Peter's, on which he informs us are inscribed the words:

Christus vincit.
Christus regnat.
Christus imperat.
Christus ab omni malo plebem suam defendat.

This famous obelisk was brought from Egypt by Augustus Cæsar and re-erected in Rome to the memory of Julius Cæsar. It was thrown down by the Barbarians, and re-erected with the above inscription by Pope Sixtus V., in 1586. The inscription upon the cross in Fort Niagara was evidently an abbreviation of that upon the obelisk in Rome.

Fort Niagara was always occupied by a garrison of French regular troops. It remained at peace unassailed by an enemy for a period of eighty years. But its erection on what was claimed to be the English side of the Niagara, or rather the Iroquois side, gave rise to long and bitter controversy between the Governors of New York and the Governors of New France. The dispute waxed so hot in 1688 that De Nonville, the Governor of Canada, ordered its evacuation. The English did not take possession of it, however, as the Iroquois objected to either power holding the fort. It was, however, too valuable to France to be abandoned. It was again occupied by the French and much strengthened. Governor Dongan of New York, finding himself powerless to prevent the French in Fort Niagara, built as a counterpoise the fort and trading post of

Oswego. Amid these jealousies and rivalries the frontiers of Canada and New York were kept in turmoil and semi-hostility until the arbitrament of war finally settled all disputes in 1759.

Those were halcyon days for Fort Niagara. The garrison lived in ease and plenty. The Indians of all the vast interior, except the Iroquois, were friendly and ready to support France in her controversies with the English. An immense trade in furs and other articles was carried on. Missionaries came and went; soldiers passed to and fro to Detroit and the Ohio and Illinois country; amusements, marrying, feasting and trafficking with the Indian tribes who resorted to the fort; church observances were kept up under the directions of the chaplains of the fort. Visiting other posts, and an occasional grand furlough to Quebec and Montreal filled up the days of the officers, while the men in an humbler degree enjoyed their own pleasures. It was too good to last forever, and Nemesis overtook at last these happy Sybarites, who had laughed at distant dangers and disbelieved or scorned the rumours of English preparations for the conquest of Canada.

The war between England and France commenced in 1754 by the building of Fort Necessity and the attack upon and killing of the French commander, De Jumonville, under a flag of truce, by Colonel Washington and a Virginian force with which he had invaded the country claimed by France. This "murder," as it was officially called in the articles of capitulation of Fort Necessity, 1754, when Washington surrendered it to Coulon de Villiers, the brother of Jumonville, exasperated the Canadians to a high degree, but the leader of the French force, to whom Washington surrendered it, spared the life of Washington, justly forfeited by the laws of war.

This incident, in which Washington signed his acquiescence to a paper which called him "assassin," is always blinked hard at in American history. It did not escape the hawk eye of Thomas Carlyle, as is related by J. T. Fields. The speech of Carlyle is most characteristic of the Sage of Chelsea:

"So you are an American?" said Carlyle. Fields assented. "Ah! that's a wretched nation of your ain. It's all wrong, has always been wrong from the beginning. That great man of yours,

George, was a monstrous bore, and wants taking down a few hundred pegs!"

"Really, Mr. Carlyle," replied Fields, "you are the last man in the world from whom I should have expected such an observation. Look at your own book on Cromwell. What was Washington but Cromwell, without his personal ambition and fanaticism?"

"Eh, sir!" responded Carlyle, "George had neither ambition nor religion nor any good quality under the sun! George was just Oliver with all the juice squeezed out!"

Washington was the prince of land jobbers. He had secured a grant of over 200,000 acres of land in the territory, hence his over-eagerness to drive out the French and violate the flag of truce.

CHAPTER VII.

1759.

NIAGARA remained unassailed during the early years of the last French war. Its isolated situation, and distance from the theater of hostilities on Lake Champlain and Lake George, and the head waters of the Ohio dominated by Fort Duquesne, secured it from attack. The capture of Fort Necessity and the disastrous defeat of the army of General Braddock on the Monongahela seemed to secure French power in the western country, and the capture of Oswego by General Montcalm removed its most dangerous neighbor. Not until the government of England was taken in hand by the indomitable and able prime minister, William Pitt the elder, were order, foresight and resolution evolved out of the chaotic elements of politics which threatened collapse on every side.

The moment affairs were in the hands of Pitt, British power asserted itself. Pitt resolved to end at once and forever the dominion of France in Canada. He placed in command of the army destined to attack Quebec the young General Wolfe, one of the world's great heroes. A great plan of campaign was laid down for the operations against Canada. While Wolfe ascended the St. Lawrence to besiege Quebec, another army was collected for the Niagara frontier.

In the spring of 1759 a strong force of British regulars and Provincial militia was assembled at Albany, numbering about 3,800 men, together with 900 Indians, of the Five Nations principally. They took with them a good supply of artillery and siege material for the investment of Fort Niagara. They were under the command of General Prideaux, an English officer of merit and experience in war, and second in command under him was Sir William Johnson, the able chief superintendent of Indian affairs in North America, who had in 1754 defeated and taken prisoner General Dieskow at the battle of Lake George. Colonel Johnson was another leader of the

force, which also numbered among its officers Colonel Butler, afterwards of Butler's Rangers, and Captain Joseph Brant, then a young man, but an hereditary chief of the Mohawk Nation. Daniel Servos, afterwards a Loyalist refugee and settler at Niagara, was an officer in the New York militia.

The garrison of Fort Niagara consisted of detachments of the French regular regiments of Bearn, Guienne, LaSarre, the Royal Roussillon and Colonial Marines, numbering in all between five and six hundred regular soldiers, with a large force of Indians from western tribes, good soldiers and warriors, but too few in number to meet the English in the field. They were compelled therefore to keep within the fortifications, which they strengthened as much as possible, under the able direction of their commandant, Colonel Pouchot, an engineer officer of merit and reputation in the French army.

The English army left Albany and advanced by the route of the Mohawk river, and passed along by the main canoe route by Wood Creek until they reached Fort Oswego. They re-embarked there in canoes and batteaux and coasted westward by the shores of Lake Ontario until they reached the Little Bay, five miles east of Fort Niagara, where they disembarked with but slight molestation, and pitched their camp on the lake shore. They then advanced towards the rear of the fort, well watched, however, by the French and Indians, who had long been preparing for this attack.

The progress of the siege, which commenced on the 10th July, 1759, will not be stated here. The particulars may be found recorded in the diaries of the siege by both General Johnson and Colonel Pouchot. Lines of circumvallation were formed round the fort, cutting it off from all communication with the rest of the country. Trenches were dug and batteries established at La Belle Famille, within a short range of the fort. The bombardment of it went on steadily day after day, interrupted by sorties and fierce fights with the garrison. But none got out or got in. The British Indians filled the woods and the defenders were kept closely hemmed in from the beginning to the end of the siege.

On the fourth day a lamentable event happened. General Prideaux, while superintending the fire of a gun, was killed by the

premature bursting of a bomb, an event which caused grief but not discouragement to his troops. Sir William Johnson succeeded to the command, and his relative, Colonel Johnson, became second in command under him.

The Government of Quebec had foreseen this attack upon Fort Niagara, and sent orders to the French commandants in the Ohio and Illinois country and Detroit to collect all the French troops, voyageurs and Indians from the posts of Detroit, Venango, DeBœufs, Vincennes and every other part where Frenchmen were, to come down in force and relieve the garrison of Fort Niagara, the early siege of which had been foreseen.

Colonels D'Aubry and Ligneris, the French commanders in the west, lost no time in obeying these orders. They assembled in May a force of 3,000 men, 2,000 of whom were western and northwest Indians—Shawnese, Miamies, Chippawas, Saulteaux and Crees, wild men of the lakes and prairies of the Algonquin stock, deadly enemies of the Iroquois and the English. The Senecas alone of the Five Nations gave a contingent of their tribe to the French, and joined D'Aubry and Ligneris on their arrival in the neighborhood of the fort.

This savage army coasted down Lake Erie and arrived at the head of the Niagara River about the time of the commencement of the siege. Their intention was at first to pass down the river and land at Chippawa and disembark there and march down on the west side of the Niagara to Montreal Point, on the present site of the town of Niagara, and thence cross over to the fort.

General Johnson in expectation of this movement sent 2,000 men over to erect batteries at Montreal and Mississaugua Points, to bombard the fort from that side and also to prevent the junction of D'Aubry and Ligneris with Pouchot.

These officers finding so large a force of English on the west side of the river, changed their plan and resolved to land their forces at the Falls and march down to Fort Niagara on the eastern side of the river.

Great apprehension followed the arrival of D'Aubry and Ligneris among the Indians of Johnson's army, and many of them seemed inclined to abandon Johnson to avoid a conflict with the Indians

accompanying D'Aubry. On the arrival of the relieving force at the Five Mile Meadows, the Indians of the Five Nations, led by Colonel Butler and Captain Brant, went out to have a truce and conference with them. The object of Butler and Brant being to sow jealousy and fear among the wild tribes, the warriors of the Five Nations mingled with the strangers while the chiefs were in conference, and impressed them with the belief that the fort was certain to be taken in a few days, and that the safety of the Western Indians depended upon their immediate desertion of D'Aubry and Ligneris and hastening back to their own country.

These cunning tactics succeeded. The French troops of D'Aubry were suddenly abandoned by their dusky allies, who foresook them to a man, almost, and left the white troops to face alone the attack of a strong force of Johnson's army. This attack upon the relieving force was on the 24th of July in the woods south of La Belle Famille. The French were attacked with vigor and speedily overpowered. Both of the commanders, D'Aubry and Ligneris, were wounded, and with their whole force surrendered to the English.

Pouchot heard the firing and saw the smoke of battle from his ramparts. He made a sortie to help the advancing French, but was fiercely encountered and driven back into the works, losing many men. An Indian found his way into the fort with the news that D'Aubry had been defeated and had surrendered. An English officer with a flag of truce presently came up with the same information and summoned Pouchot to give up the fort. Pouchot asked permission to send a confidential officer to the place of the battle, which Sir William Johnson at once granted. The French officer went and saw that the report was true. He found D'Aubry and Ligneris lying wounded under a tree, but treated by their victors with all respect and humanity.

Pouchot, learning the full extent of the disaster to the relieving army, accepted the conference offered by Sir William Johnson to treat of articles of capitulation. He accepted the honorable terms offered him, and on the 25th July, 1759, surrendered Fort Niagara and its garrison. The officers were paroled and allowed to go with all their personal effects to Quebec. The soldiers were embarked in bateaux and sent down the lake to Oswego, and thence to Albany.

The wounded remained in the English hospital until they were fit to be moved.

Pouchot's statement gives his loss at 109 men killed and wounded in the siege. The force under D'Aubry and DeLigneris lost over 250 men killed, mostly Colonial troops, and all their officers were wounded and taken prisoners.

Gen. Johnson's army lost severely in the siege—among them Gen. Prideaux, the commander-in-chief, and Colonel Johnson, an able and gallant officer who had served in the preceding French war.

Pouchot relates in his diary that on the afternoon of the 26th July the garrison marched out of the fort and descended to the beach with shouldered arms, drums beating, and two pieces of heavy cannon at the head of the column. As soon as the troops reached the batteaux in which they were to embark they laid down their arms and immediately pushed out into the lake, although it was very rough on that day. A tragical event took place on the embarkation. Cadet Moncourt of the Colonials had formed a strong friendship with an Indian, who seeing his friend taken off as a prisoner was seized with intense grief. "Brother!" said he, "I am in despair at seeing you taken away prisoner, but take heart! I will prevent their torturing of you." He drew his hatchet and killed his friend with one blow, believing that he thereby saved him from torture, which he supposed the English would inflict upon him.

The dead of both sides were buried with military honors in the cemetery outside the walls of the fort. General Prideaux and Colonel Johnson were buried side by side on the same day, 3rd August, in the chapel newly built by Pouchot inside the fort. They were interred with martial pomp and ceremony, Sir William Johnson being chief mourner. Strange to say the very site of that chapel is not known at this day, and no mark is to be found to point out the graves of these two gallant officers who fell at the siege of Fort Niagara.

I may mention here that the widow of Colonel Johnson, a relative of the Servos family, came to Niagara with that family of Loyalists in 1783. She lived to the great age of 104 years and is buried in the Servos burial ground, Lake Road, Niagara Township, where an ancient gravestone records her name and death.

The general features of the country had scarcely changed during the long occupation of the French. The trade routes were more active, but no settlement had been made nor the cultivation of the land as yet attempted. An interesting letter written by Sir William Lee, an officer in Johnson's army, to General Bunberry, dated Niagara, Aug. 9, 1759, describes the country as follows:

"The situation of this place and the country round it are certainly most magnificent. It (the fort) stands on Lake Ontario at the mouth of the Niagara river, eighteen miles from the great falls, the most stupendous cataract in the known world. Had I a throat of brass and a thousand tongues I might attempt to describe it, but without them it certainly beggars description. The country resembles Ickworth park, if not surpassing it. For an immense space round it it is filled with deer, bears, turkeys, raccoons, and in short all sorts of game. The lake affords salmon and other excellent fish. But I am afraid you will think I am growing romantic. Therefore, I shall only say it is such a paradise and such an acquisition to our nation that I would not sacrifice it to receive the dominion of any one electoral prince in Germany from the hands of the enemy."

CHAPTER VIII.

1763.

THE capture of Niagara released the army of Johnson to assist in the operations of General Wolfe against Quebec. Gen. Johnson with characteristic energy collected all the troops and Indians under his command and embarked them in batteaux and canoes to descend the St. Lawrence and join Wolfe, then thundering before the walls of Quebec, and needing all the assistance he could possibly get. Johnson did not effect his proposed junction with Wolfe, but his approach from the westward helped to distract the attention of Montcalm and indirectly was of use in the great campaign going on round Quebec.

After the fall of Quebec and cession of Canada, Fort Niagara enjoyed uninterrupted peace for seventeen years. It became the headquarters of English regiments and the principal depot of troops and stores for the more western posts that had been established at Detroit, Presque Isle, Venango, Vincennes and in other parts of the Ohio and western country. It was a busy center of Indian trade, and fleets of batteaux and canoes were continually, in the season of navigation, passing between Niagara, Frontenac and Montreal, as well as the upper posts.

There was no permanent peace, however, in the west. The conquest of Canada was followed by the conspiracy of Pontiac, who united most of the Indian tribes in a war which almost destroyed the power of England in the interior. The siege of Detroit in 1763, by the Indian tribes under Pontiac, lasted almost a year. The massacres of Michilimacinac and Venango spread alarm at Niagara and everywhere on the frontiers.

The eventual destruction of Pontiac and his force did not bring peace to this frontier. The Seneca Nation had been deeply involved in the conspiracy of Pontiac. Their treacherous attack on the 13th

Sept., 1763, upon a party of English soldiers and teamsters at the Devil's Hole is memorable on account of its atrocious nature and the natural horrors of the deep, rocky cliff where the deed was perpetrated.

The Devil's Hole is a deep, precipitous chasm in the rocky bank of the river, three miles below the falls. The Senecas formed an ambuscade at this spot to attack an English party who were returning to Fort Niagara from Little Niagara with a large train of wagons, oxen and horses, which had been sent up to the falls with supplies of provisions and stores for the western posts, to be embarked in batteaux by way of Lake Erie.

When the train reached the Devil's Hole they were suddenly fired upon by the swarm of savages hid behind the trees and bushes. The soldiers were quite unprepared for defence. The teams took fright and added to the confusion. The Indians, seeing the disorder, rushed from their hiding places and attacked the party with gun, spear and tomahawk. The guard were compelled to recoil, and were gradually, amid the ferocious yells of the savages, driven over the river bank and down into the dark abyss of the Devil's Hole.

Men, oxen, horses and wagons were piled one upon another and lay in a confused and undistinguishable mass at the bottom of the abyss. All were killed except one man, Stedman, who had settled at the falls, and a boy who had hid in the bushes and escaped the eye of the Indians.

The day's disaster did not end here A party of soldiers of the garrison of Fort Niagara had been posted at Lewiston. They heard the firing at the Devil's Hole, and under the command of Captain Johnson, eighty men of Gage's light infantry marched quickly to the scene of conflict. The crafty Indians had foreseen this movement and prepared a second ambuscade on top of the road above Lewiston. This party too were attacked by the whole force of Indians and almost annihilated. Major Wilkins, the commandant at Fort Niagara, as soon as he heard of these disasters, marched his whole regiment of six hundred men to the assistance of his detachments. The Indians fled at once on his approach. The number of soldiers and teamsters who were killed—exclusive of those who perished in the Devil's Hole—was about seventy.

A reason might be given for this savage attack of the Senecas upon the English. A reason, and a sufficient one for a barbarous tribe, is the fact of the seizure and monopoly of the business of the great portage round the falls by a company of greedy speculators. During the French occupation the Seneca Indians were allowed the sole privilege of transporting goods on the portage between Lewiston and Little Niagara. This was a profitable industry for the Indians. Upwards of two hundred of them found plenty of work and much gain from this carrying trade. It had the effect in the war of securing the Senecas to the French interest, and they naturally resented being now deprived of it.

On the capture of Fort Niagara and the portages on the river, a swarm of unscrupulous white men followed in the train of the army. They obtained exclusive rights on the carrying place, and replaced the Senecas by wagons and teams of oxen and horses. The whites had grown rich by the traffic, while the Senecas were left to brood over their lost business and gainful occupation.

Great discontent arose among them, and their chiefs sent messengers to Pontiac, then forming his confederation of tribes, offering their assistance to destroy the English power. The story of Pontiac need not be retold here. He had the sympathy and help of the Senecas, and in agreement with his plans they struck the first blow at the Devil's Hole against their natural enemies, the monopolists of the portage. It is easy to understand their animosity against the teamsters and guards of the carrying place. It was but human nature in its commonest form.

The great war with Pontiac, the year's siege of Detroit, the destruction and massacres of Michilimacinac, Venango and other places, the gallant relief of Detroit by the English, and the final defeat of Pontiac, are all recorded in the history of the period.

Sir William Johnson resided part of the summer of 1761 in Fort Niagara, when the first mutterings of the Pontiac war were heard. He was very anxiously viewing the signs of the approaching storm, for he knew the numbers and revengeful spirit of the western tribes, whom Pontiac was successfully organizing into a grand confederation against the English. But even he did not fully guage the depth and influence of the eloquent chief Pontiac. A letter of his written at

Fort Niagara at this time shows vividly the suspicions he entertained of the coming hostility of the Indians, and is interesting also as a picture of the gallant general and superintendent of the Indians of North America. It is written to his son-in-law, Col. Daniel Claus, Deputy Superintendent of the Indians in Canada at Montreal:

FORT NIAGARA, August 9th, 1761.

Dear Claus:

I take this opportunity, by Mons. Desonie going to Montreal, of lettiug you know I am detained these 17 days waiting for my batteaux wch I left in ye Wood Creek the 14th ult. I never heard of them since, but hourly expect them. When they arrive I shall proceed immediately for Detroit in order to hold a meeting with all the Indians in that quarter and settle matters with them on the best and most permanent footing I can, and regulate the trade there, here and at every post where trade is carried on with ye Indians, which General Amherst much approves of. I think all who trade from yt country or Canada to Missilimaniak, &c., should have papers from you in my name, as it is entirely belonging to my branch by the words of my commission, wch reads thus: "To hold, exercise and enjoy the said office and employments with the several respective salaries, perquisites and advantages during our pleasure." However, if Mr. Gage should make a point of it and insist on his giving them, I would not at present dispute it as I am uncertain how long I may continue to act, having wrote home twice to be excused the service.

There were some time last month two Senecas, or rather Chenassio messengers, at Detroit with a war belt sent by some of the little towns near the Ohio, as is said, to try to engage the Hurons, Ottawas, &c., to join them against the English, but the Hurons and others behaved very well on the occasion and absolutely refused having anything to do in so mad and unnatural a scheme. They even informed the commanding officer of Detroit of it, and in the presence of ye two Seneca Embassadors delivered him also their war belt, which he has since sent to ye General and me. As their plot is discovered and I going there, it will, I fancy, end in nothing.

I am this day to have the Senecas and Chenassios answer to a severe speech I made them yesterday on the occasion, and wish I may have time to send it you. I have had some meetings here with the Chippaways, Mississaageys, &c., who behave extremely well and seem very happy and friendly to us.

On my coming to this place I had conferences with the Oneidas, Tuscaroras and Onondagas, who all assured me that they knew nothing of any design against or intention to hurt the English, so that I am apt to think it arises from some of Shabear Jonicœur's friends living beyond Chenassio, for his Indian son was one of the two who went with the belt to Detroit, and made use of his father's name several times in ye speech, intimating as if it was his plan and desire.

On my arrival at Detroit I expect it will subside. You may, if found

necessary, acquaint ye Indians there of it, and let them know the villainous plot was rejected by those Indians who were lately our enemies and looked upon by them in a most unnatural and rebellious light, for which I shall take the more notice of all them nations and the less of them who ought to be more entitled to our favors than any others.

You may judge how uneasy I must be being detained here so long when I want so much to be home. My going this tour is a real hindrance to my settling my land and improvements. Johnny and Guy Johnson are all the company I have with me. They are both well and desire to be remembered to you and Messrs. Welles and Wade, who I hope are doing well and enjoy their health.

Major Gladwyn, who goes to explore the lakes, is getting over the carrying place here, 16 days past. He will be ready to proceed to Detroit in about two or three days more. I hope everything is settled with regard to your purchase, as I left money and directions with Ferrall Wade to answer your draft for that purpose. It will give me pleasure to hear of your welfare and genteel economy, as I wish you well and am

Your sincere friend and humble servant,

WM. JOHNSON.

Major Gladwyn, mentioned in the above letter, was the officer in command at Detroit during its long siege by Pontiac.

It is also evidence of the fact that the first instigators of the war of Pontiac were some of the Senecas of the Genessee, influenced by the former French Mon. Jonicœur. Sir William was well informed on the subject of Indian intrigue.

This general, whose skill and courage saved the colonies from the French, was most powerful in controlling the Indians of North America. He died in 1775, to the infinite loss of the loyal people of the colonies. After the revolution his son, Sir John, took up his abode in Montreal.

As an evidence of the great respect entertained for the family of Sir William Johnson in Montreal, I will relate the following occurrence which took place in the court house, Montreal, in the year 1839, during the trial of Captain Jalbert for the murder of Lieutenant Wier, during the rebellion of 1837. The court was overflowing with an eager and impassioned audience, of which I was one. In the midst of the business a gentleman sitting near me suddenly rose up and addressed the court in a loud voice. All eyes were turned upon him. The judge made a sign to suspend the proceedings, the tipstaves stood silent, and the gentleman, a noble looking man, addressed the court, first in Mohawk, then in French and lastly in English. His

speech was quite incoherent and not relating to the trial at all. I inquired who he was, and was informed that he was Sir Adam Gordon Johnson, son of Sir John and grandson of Sir William. His mind was quite unhinged. He was allowed to finish his speech, which lasted five minutes. The spectators and bar and officials all kept silence until he sat down again, and then the business of the trial proceeded.

The fall of Pontiac was followed by the Indian war in the Ohio country, which was only put an end to by the decisive battle of Bushy Run in 1763, when the Indian tribes were crushed and dispersed by the regular troops of Britain, under the command of that gallant officer, Colonel Bouquet, a victory which put an end to all French influence and intrigue which had been kept active after the fall of Canada.

The cost of this Indian war, immense in money and in loss of life, had to be borne almost wholly by England. The colonies of Pennsylvania and Virginia, which were mostly attacked by the Indians, shirked contributions either of men or money in the meanest and most shameless manner. They would give nothing that they could shuffle out of. The Provincial assemblies were rent by personal feuds, and their leading men were only intent on making money by contracts and jobs for supplying the army at the expense of the British treasury,

Great discontent arose in England at the selfish course of the colonies in leaving their defence almost wholly to the regular army and the cost of the war to the mother country.

It was out of these considerations and in order to induce the colonists to contribute a portion of the cost of their own defence that the ill-advised measure of the Stamp Act was passed by the British parliament, which brought a constitutional question to the foreground But, as the Indians had been suppressed and peace made for the colonies, the excuse for non-payment of any of the recently formed war debt was at once turned into a claim of right not to pay, without the consent of their own assemblies—and that consent they knew would not be given—so they might escape scot free of all war contributions, so long as England footed the bills.

This state of things could not last. The conquest of Canada

was hailed with joy and pride by all, and the repeal of the Stamp Act gave a momentary satisfaction, but other impolitic measures kept the sparks of fire alive.

The seed of revolution was sown broadcast in New England from its earliest settlement, by the Puritans and their bigoted clergy. The latter, especially, were the inveterate enemies of the church, and all were natural enemies of the Crown, The principles which led to the civil war and establishment of the Commonwealth and Cromwellian tyranny in England never ceased to grow and bear evil fruit in the colonies they settled in North America. The revolution was predestined by all their acts and policy in New England.

The distinguished Lord Lyttleton, in a speech he made in the House of Lords on the Quebec Act, 1774, spoke words of truth, great truth, when he remarked as follows:

"If British America was determined to resist the lawful power and pre-eminence of Great Britain, he saw no reason why the loyal inhabitants should not co-operate with the rest of the Empire in subduing them and bringing them to a right sense of their duty. And he thought it happy that from their local situation there might be some check to those fierce fanatic spirits that were inflamed with the same zeal which animated the Roundheads in England, who directed their zeal to the same purposes—to the demolition of the royal authority and to the subversion of all power which they did not themselves possess. That they were composed of the same leaven, and whilst they pretended to be contending for liberty they were setting up an absolute independent republic, and that the struggle was not for freedom but power, which was proved by the whole tenor of their conduct."

The American revolutionists were faithfully described in the above words of Lord Lyttleton, and the arguments he puts forth against the rebels may, by a curious reader, be found of the same tenor with those which the Republican leaders held forth against the confederate secessionists in 1860.

The inherited disloyalty of the majority of the people of New England, wrought upon by interested agitators, lay and clerical, against law, reason and public gratitude for salvation from France and from the Indians came to a head, under the pretence of resisting

a small taxation to assist in their own defence upon the Indian frontiers.

In the other colonies—especially New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey—the majority of the people were opposed to the revolution, and in favor of a quiet settlement of the dispute with the mother country. The events of the seven years war which followed are on record, most divergent in narration, and with as much untruthfulness as any history, so called, in the world can show. But we cannot dwell on this subject, it falls outside of these Annals of Niagara.

The breaking out of the war of 1775 made the Fort of Niagara an object of fear to the Rebels and of hope and confidence to Loyalists of the Province of New York.

The course of the war had gone hard against the rebels before the arrival of the French army under Count Rochambeau. Everywhere there were signs of collapse. Cornwallis, after a victorious campaign in the Carolinas and Virginia, marched with his forces down to Yorktown to meet there the army that Clinton was to send, to reinforce him, from New York. The sudden march of the French army and its junction with Washington's and the attack of both upon Cornwallis at Yorktown are matters well known. Cornwallis was forced to surrender his small force before the arrival of Clinton's reinforcements—just a week too late to save Cornwallis. It was the fortune of war, of winds and culpable delay on the part of Clinton. But for that year it gave the fruits of success to the Rebels and French. But even then all was recovered again, and the revolution on the point of succumbing, when the unpatriotism of the Whigs in England forced on a defeat and resignation of the ministry, which led to the acknowledgement of the independence of the colonies and the ill-conditioned treaty of peace of 1783. It was Whig work, and characteristic of the party fury of the time.

Multitudes of Loyalists were, from the outset of the rebellion, driven from their homes in the Provinces of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. They took to the woods, and after enduring all sorts of hardship and suffering arrived at Fort Niagara, where they found refuge and defence from their implacable persecutors. They encamped in tents and under shelter of huts and brushwood round the walls of Niagara. The women and children and aged men were

sustained by the commissaries of the fort, while the men enlisted and formed themselves into Loyalist regiments, under the command of brave, enterprising officers such as Sir John Johnson, Colonel Butler and others. Colonel DePeyster of the 8th or King's Regiment was in command of Fort Niagara, and as a member of a very loyal family—the DePeysters of New York—was in full sympathy with the refugees, and did everything possible for man to do in relieving their necessities and keeping up their spirits to the end.

The Indians of the Six Nations, with a few exceptions, remained true to their allegiance to the King. The congress of the revolted colonies, failing to seduce them over to their side, made savage war upon all their towns and settlements from the Hudson to the Genesee. General Sullivan with a large army invaded their country and burnt and ravaged their settlements on all sides.

The result of this proceeding caused greater animosity than ever, and upwards of 5,000 Indians fled under the guns of Fort Niagara, and from that place as their headquarters turned an incessant stream of war parties, winter and summer, seeking revenge for their losses and making savage war upon the Rebels on all the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania. Prisoners and spoils were daily brought to their camp at Niagara, and under their great chiefs, Brant, Deseronto and Sakoyenwaraghton, inflicted unending losses upon the rebels.

The utmost difficulty was experienced by the officers of Fort Niagara in feeding such a host of Loyalist refugees, Indians and crowds of prisoners as were gathered round the fort, besides the garrison of regular troops and Loyalist regiments. The country round afforded nothing whatever except game and fish. There was no cultivation, nor any time for it, such was the turmoil and incessant movement of the war. General Haldimand wrote from Quebec to the Deputy Superintendent of Indians at Niagara, who had applied for a supply of provisions for the Indians, that he had not the means, for, said he:

"Every ounce of provisions they and we have consumed for the last eighteen months had been brought from England and transported not only to Niagara, but to Detroit and numerous posts of the interior." All were provisioned in the same way.

CHAPTER IX.

1780.

FORT Niagara, thronged with thousands of refugee Loyalists and Indians driven from their homes by the army of Sullivan, who did not dare, however, to follow them, was a volcano of war during the rebellion. Expeditions were sent from it winter and summer. Indians, under the command of their chiefs, Brant, Deseronto and the old king of the Senecas, were daily on the warpath, destroying the enemies' supplies and killing or taking prisoners, while the white troops, under Sir John Johnson (son of Sir William), Colonel Butler, Guy Johnson, the Servoses, Clements, Secords and other Loyalist partizans, took deep revenge for the cruelties and losses of property they had sustained.

> "From camp to camp wherever danger drew,
> Or battle storm, the royal standard blew,
> They crowded in and ranked their brave array,
> And revelled in the thickest of the fray."

At Wyoming, Oriskany, the forts of Schoharie, and everywhere on the frontiers in fact, their presence was felt. Their blows were heavy and many, but the records of cruelty charged against them, except in a few cases of purely Indian fights, have no foundation in fact, but were inventions of the enemy made to stir up more hostility against the king than really existed in the general mind of the people. It was neck or nothing with the Rebel leaders and congressmen. They must fight down royal authority or lie it down, and the last method was both easier and safer. As Franklin remarked on their Declaration of Independence: "They must now hang together or hang separately, and once they fell into the pit of bitumen they could never scrape themselves clean again to the end of their dominion." And they never have scraped themselves clean, and never will.

The alleged massacre of Wyoming was a pure invention of the time. It was fought on the 3rd July, 1778. Colonel John Butler with a force of Rangers and Indians proceeded to Wyoming, with the main object of bringing in the families of the refugees to Niagara. Hundreds of women, old people and children had been left behind to the untender mercies of the Rebels, and their rescue was ardently desired by the men at Niagara.

The force under Colonel Butler consisted of a few hundred of his Rangers, one company of the 8th, or King's regiment, under Capt. Bird, a number of Loyalist volunteers, and the whole of the Senecas, under Sakoyenwaraghton. Brant was not with them. He had at this very time gone with the Mohawks of his command and a number of Rangers under the command of Jacob and Daniel Servos to Schoharie, to destroy three forts erected there, and also to bring in a number of the families of the Loyalists who had come to Niagara. Brant and the Servoses effected thoroughly the object of their expedition. The Schoharie forts were captured and destroyed and their garrisons killed or taken prisoners. The party returned in safety and in triumph to Fort Niagara.

At Wyoming the Rebel army, under Colonel Zebulon Butler, guarded three forts in the valley. Zebulon Butler was a good officer, who afterwards, in 1791, was killed in the defeat of Gen. St. Clair in Ohio. He was no connection of John Butler. The Senecas bore the greater share in the heavy engagement at Wyoming. The enemy fled at the first charge, and the forts surrendered. One was stormed, and a universal panic spread through the settlements of Wyoming on the advance of the Indians and Rangers.

A vast volcano of lies arose out of this affair at Wyoming. The scoriæ of it lie thick on American history to this day, and the people do not want it removed. But removed it will be in time, and the truth established that no unmilitary excesses were committed by the Loyalists or Indians at Wyoming.

The story of the massacre of Wyoming is exactly on a par with the infamous lie written and propagated by Franklin, of casks of scalps of men, women and children sent by the Indians to General Haldimand, the Governor of Canada, These falsehoods served an infamous purpose—to excite the nations of Europe against the English

Government and in favor of the Rebels, and also to give the Whig party in England matters of grave accusation against the administration. Franklin acknowledged the lie afterwards. It had served its purpose, however.

The poet Campbell, a bitter Whig partizan, fell willingly into the stream of party politics. His beautiful poem of "Gertrude of Wyoming" is a base party libel upon Brant—"the monster, Brant," as he called him—the perpetrator of a massacre which never took place at all.

When John Brant, the son of the old chief, was in England in 1821 he waited on the truculent poet with undeniable proofs of the injustice done to his father by him. There was no denying the proofs offered, that Brant was not even present at Wyoming. The poet retracted and promised that the offending passage should be omitted in future editions. But it was not done, and the poetical lie is still printed in full figure, and is quoted, by those who want it so, as history to this day. Such is much of party history in the world.

A letter of Capt. Walter Butler's to General Schuyler, Nov. 12, 1778, may be quoted here on the same subject. Butler sent a number of the prisoners taken at Wyoming to Schuyler. He says:

"Lest the inclemency of the season and their naked, helpless situation might prove fatal to them, I have done everything in my power to restrain the fury of the Indians from hurting women and children or killing the prisoners in their hands, and would have more effectually prevented them but they were much incensed by the late destruction of their village of Anguaga (Unadilla) by your people. I look upon it beneath the character of a soldier to wage war upon women and children."

Major David Secord of St. Davids, Niagara township, the same who so gallantly commanded the 2nd Lincoln in the battle of Chippawa, 1814, after Colonel Dickson was wounded, related to the writer the following incident, which occurred at Wyoming, where he fought as a sergeant in Butler's Rangers:

Three Americans that belonged to a party of Rebels had attacked a Mohawk village, and had cruelly outraged and killed the young wife of a chief, Oneida Joseph. These men were taken prisoners at Wyoming and placed under a guard commanded by

Sergeant Secord. Oneida Joseph learned that the outragers of his wife were prisoners, and in a transport of rage and revenge he ran with a spear to the place where they were confined and demanded to go in to them and kill them. Sergeant Secord opposed his entrance, and the chief cried out, "I kill them or kill you." He attempted to kill Secord, and thrust his spear viciously at him. It passed through his coat, when his guard ran up and seized and carried off the furious chief. The prisoners were of course saved from harm and from death, which they richly had deserved, but the incident showed clearly that no massacre of prisoners took place, else these wretches would not have been spared against the revenge of the Mohawks.

In 1844 Oneida Joseph was still living on the Indian reservation at Brantford, one of the finest specimens of his race. The writer visited him at his house, but being on other business did not think to speak to him of Wyoming.

The attack on Cherry Valley was undoubtedly accompanied by grave Indian excesses, for which Brant and Colonel Butler have been held responsible in American writings, but without reason. Neither Brant nor Butler commanded in that expedition. The Seneca king Sakoyenwaraghton and his savage tribe were alone culpable for the excesses committed at Cherry Valley. Captain Walter Butler and a few Rangers were present. Brant was present by mere accident. He was returning from the east to Niagara when he met the expedition going to Cherry Valley, and was prevailed upon by his friend Walter Butler to accompany him. He did so, but held no command and humanely exerted all his influence to prevent the Senecas committing outrages, and saved many lives of the soldiers and settlers.

The expedition left Niagara for Cherry Valley 28th Oct., 1778. Mrs. Molly Brant, the Indian widow of Sir William Johnson and sister of Joseph Brant, was at that time living in Niagara, and was an eye witness of the setting out of the Indians for the attack on Cherry Valley, which she tells of in a letter to Chief John Deseronto, directed to Montreal, under date 17th Nov., 1778.

The letter of Captain John Deseronto is of considerable value as settling a much debated historical question, and as a specimen of Mohawk writing of the 18th century will be acceptable to philologists.

I will, for sake of preserving it, insert the original, with a translation. It will interest some of the readers of these annals:

Goragh Shotsitsyowanne Rakdsi:

Wagyena onghivatsi Mis Mari degonwadonti yoghyato Niakara. Waton Eghtsrori ne Koragh onenyongwaghrongea Oraghgwatiron Dontara. Waton dewakadonghwen Toniakaronge Dsinigawweanonne Raotyoghgwa Dsinigonne ronnese Kannyadarageghgoa wati Sanonghweraton ni se nok honi nagoyena ne geatho.

Nok waton Goragh Asharekowa agwagh yathinonweron niyawea Dsi nitthoyerea geatho gayen Raoweana oghnyakara agwagh yonwesen Dsinihawennoden ise Kati Rakdsi Eghtsrori anyogh agwagh Rotinigonghriyoghs ne rotinonghsyonni nok wadon onenyongwarhara Enyagwaronge Dsinen hotiyadawea Rotinonghsag'gwekon Karightongegh yehone non tokat 500 tehonnyawe Kaunagoro Ronaghtentyon 28th Oct. ronnen 8 nenwata Engarighweadane Karightonge.

Sakayengwaraghdon Ragowanenhatye.

Etho Col. Claus, Montril.

Ii, John Odeserontyon Wakyadon.

LA CHINE Dec. 3, 1778.

TRANSLATION OF ABOVE LETTER.

Governor—My Elder Brother:

I received just now Miss Mary Brant's letter from Niagara. She says tell the Governor (the Superintendent of Indian affairs) that we have heard that Oraghgwatirhon is coming back again. She says I want to hear what happened to his band who were with him on the lake. She thanks you and she says: Governor Asarekowa, I thank him very much for what he did. His word is here at Niagara. His words are very pleasant. You, therefore, brother, tell him that the people of the Long House (the Five Nations) are pleased.

She also says: We are now expecting to hear of what will happen to the people of the whole House.

About 500 left here Oct. 28th for Karightongegh (*i. e.* Cherry Valley).

They said in eight days Karigtonge shall be destroyed. Sakayengwaraghdon is their leader.

To Col. Claus, Montreal.

I, John Deserontyon, have written this.

LA CHINE, Dec. 3, 1778.

Molly Brant was one of the most interesting personages of the period of the revolution. She resided chiefly at Niagara during the war. Her influence over the Six Nations was equal to, or greater than, that of her brother Joseph. The Iroquois, always reverencing the counsel and advice of the women of their tribe, paid the greatest deference to Miss Molly, as she was familiarly called. A letter of

Colonel Daniel Claus, who was her step-son, is worth preserving here, as giving an interesting account of her. The letter was addressed to Governor Haldimand :

MONTREAL, 30th Aug., 1779.

To His Excellency, Gen'l Haldimand, Quebec:

I arrived here Saturday morning. Soon after my arrival two of the few Mohawks that remained at home came and told me that they had received another message from the Five Nations, acquainting them with their critical situation with regard to an invasion from the Rebels, desiring them, the Mohawks, as the head of the confederacy, to come to their assistance without any further delay, which summons they told me they could not disobey, according to the engagement of their ancestors.

The message likewise imported to inform the Seven Nations of Canada, who mostly were their descendents, of their danger, and demanded their aid, which they did ; but whether they will join or no it was none of their business, that they must obey the call.

I replied that I apprehended the Five Nations were more alarmed than they had occasion to be, but that I should acquaint Your Excellency with what they said.

As soon as Molly heard of my arrival she paid me a visit and gave me a full detail of her adventures and misfortunes since the rebellion, but in particular in fall of 1777 after our retreat from Fort Stanwix, when she was robbed of everything by the Rebels and their Indians for giving intelligence of their motions, by which they were surprised and defeated, when she was obliged to leave her habitation and flee for her and her children's safety to the Five Nations, wherein she was assisted by her brother Joseph, and proceeded to take asylum among the Five Nations, everyone of which pressed her to stay among them, but she fixed upon Cayuga as the center and having distant relations there, by whom she was kindly received.

After General Burgoyne's affair she found them in general very fickle and wavering, in particular the head man of the Senecas, called Cayengwaraghton, with whom she had a long conversation in council, reminding him of the great friendship which subsisted between him and the late Sir William, whose memory she never mentioned without tears, which strikes Indians greatly, and to whom she said she often heard him declare and engage to live and die a firm friend to the King of England and his friends, with other striking arguments, which had such an effect upon that chief and the rest of the Five Nation Sachems, that they promised her faithfully to keep to the engagements to her late friend, for she is in reality considered and esteemed by them as his relict, and one word from her goes further with them than a thousand from any white man, without exception, also in general, who must purchase their interest and influence at a high rate.

Her departure from Niagara now was greatly regretted by all the Indians that heard of it, and would be more so when the campaign was over, and they all acquainted her with it.

After Major Butler's return from Montreal in fall, 1777, hearing she

was at Cayuga, he sent her repeated and very pressing and encouraging messages to reside at Niagara, which she at first did not know how to comply with, being so well taken care of by her friends, till at last she brought it about so as they could not take amiss her leaving them and parted in friendship.

As she is their only confident to whom they communicate everything of importance, and desiring her advice and the preventing many mischiefs—and much more so than in her brother Joseph, whose present zeal and activity occasions rather envy and jealousy with many, for his last excursion was greatly dampened on that account, having had near 300 men ready to join him, which on his setting off was brought about to be stopped and countermanded and he obliged to set out with a small number.

Molly seems to me not to be well contented with her present situation, having left her old mother and other relations and acquaintances among the Five Nations, whom she else regrets, and they will miss her on account of her friendly conversation and advice.

D. CLAUS.

After his sister, Molly Brant, the chief Joseph Brant was the leading spirit in the Five Nations. Chief Brant was a man of great natural ability, and had received a good English education under Sir William Johnson, to whom he was devotedly attached. He was in England when the Americans declared their independence, but at once hurried home to take the lead of the Indians in defence of the Crown. His tact, eloquence and bravery quite won over the Five Nations. His own tribe, the Mohawks, to a man, followed his lead. Brant deserved the confidence placed in him by the Indians, for he was ever foremost to lead them in war, and the wisest to counsel them at all times. An unpublished letter of his, written to Colonel McKee of Amherstburg, 1793, will give a better idea of his character than any mere description. I will insert it here for preservation:

MIAMI RAPIDS, 4th August, 1793.

SIR,—Having for some time past observed that the confederate Indians do not act with that unanimity so necessary to their interest, induces me to offer my sentiments to you on the occasion.

Agreeable to two letters I received from you last spring and winter, requesting my attendance and assistance at the private council-fire at this place, I took the earliest opportunity to come with that part of the Six Nations inhabiting the Grand River. It is now three months since I left home, and I do not see that the great business we were invited here to assist in is at all forwarded. I am in some measure at a loss to account for the delay. I do not mind my time, provided I could be of service. It has for these many years past been solely devoted to the good of that confederacy, which I have labored to support, and my exertions in this business are not

wholly unknown to you. We well know that without being united we are nothing. How then comes it to pass that the only material business is conducted by one part. We look upon ourselves as equally concerned in the welfare of this country, and we are part of the confederacy, but we have been kept in the dark—private consultations have been held without we having any knowledge of them. It cannot be supposed that we will implicitly agree to what is daily doing by a few people. It is contrary to what we understood to be the intention of this meeting.

I had before wrote you that people who were hostile to the confederacy ought not to be consulted. Those only who would support a war for the interest of the Indians should be admitted to the councils. I now repeat that we come here not only to assist with our advice but otherways if just. We come here with arms in our hands, but the unmerited slight offered us is too apparent to be passed over in silence. I should be glad to be told with candor in what instance we have acted wrong, but we are not told anything. Our opinion and that of three respectable tribes has not been attended to—I mean the Ottawas, Pottewatamis and Chippaways—but perhaps there may be some substantial reasons for this with which I am unacquainted. What passed between the above mentioned tribes and the Six Nations was merely a renewal of the ancient customs of Indians, and had no reference to any general proceedings. We would not refuse the intercourse proposed by them on such a flattering occasion, as that of renewing and strengthening the ancient friendship between us.

If I recollect right, the result of last general council was that a written message was to be sent by young men to the commissioners and return with an answer in writing, but we now understand that some principal chiefs are gone to meet the Americans, and that they have authority to relax from the messages if they see cause.

We have been told that such a part of the country belongs to the Six Nations, but I am of opinion that the country belongs to the confederate Indians in common. If we say that such a part of the country belongs to one nation and such a part to another, the union cannot subsist and we cannot more effectually serve our enemies, whose whole aim has been to divide us. This plan was attempted in Lord Dunmore's time by land jobbers.

Upwards of one hundred years ago a Moon of Wampum was placed in this country, with four roads leading to the center for the convenience of the Indians from different quarters to come and settle or hunt here. A dish with one spoon was likewise put here with the Moon of Wampum. This shows that my sentiments respecting the lands are not new.

I therefore beg you will consider of this letter and favor me with an answer, as I think the present proceedings are hurtful to all Indian nations, and will be so to their posterity.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

JOS. BRANT.

Col. McKee, D. S. I. A.

Fort Niagara and its vicinity was the scene of great activity in

those days, and indeed during the whole war. Expeditions large and small were ever on the move, without cessation in winter or summer. As many as five or six Indian war parties were sometimes out at the same time in different directions, while the Rangers and other Loyalists in companies of partizans kept the frontiers in continual alarm, and, under the direction of Sir John Johnson and other leaders, inflicted blow upon blow and infinite loss upon the enemy. Sir John's property had been outrageously pillaged and his wife imprisoned and maltreated by General Schuyler. He was, therefore, hard upon the Rebels, whom he made to expiate his wrongs.

The changes in the western forts of garrisons and supplies all passed through Fort Niagara, where the presence of six thousand Indians and as many white persons—soldiers, refugees and their wives and children—created an immense charge upon the military commandants for their support and housing, which was mostly in tents and booths.

In such distressing circumstances it was wonderful how well their trials were borne. Perfect harmony, arising out of common sympathies and common sufferings, pervaded the refugees and Indians. The law was in the hands of the military commandant, administered by him for the time being carefully, according to the rule of common sense and right feeling. The Governor General at Quebec was the final referee and giver of advice and orders for the occasion. But there were few recriminations and no rival claims, except as to who should be foremost in being sent against the enemy. This was remarkable in so great and so mixed a multitude.

The Loyalists comprised every kind of people, English, Dutch and German, who had been the most prosperous and wealthiest of the old inhabitants of the colonies. Their superior position in society excited the envy, and their wealth the covetousness of the Revolutionists. They were quiet, law-abiding and religious, far above the base, greedy rabble who followed the Rebel leaders. They knew their numbers and confided in the strength of the law to suppress the revolt, and were not so ready to take up arms as were their opponents. This was a mistake—a fault—which lost the game to them in the States, but won for them in the result the settlement of Canada by a loyal and thrice sifted people, who are the glory and credit of North America and of the Empire.

CHAPTER X.

1784.

DURING the seven years of war no settlement was made on the western side of the Niagara river. The plains of Onghiara remained vacant, or only cultivated for corn by the Mississauguas. A few refugees had come over to examine the land and admired its capabilities and suitableness for settlements, but as, up to the very close of the war, the refugees at Fort Niagara fondly expected that they would yet win in the struggle and return to their old homes, none cared to make permanent settlements in the wild country across the river.

The promulgation of the treaty of peace in 1783, and the violent measures of the legislatures and courts to prevent the return of the Loyalists, soon convinced the refugees and all who still remained loyal in the colonies that their properties would never be restored to them, and that the most ordinary civil rights would legally or illegally be denied them in their former homes. The stipulations of the treaty relating to the lands, debts and personal rights and security were ostentatiously set at defiance by legislative enactments and the refusal of courts to protect them. It was the policy of the Rebels to expel all the Loyalists from their midst, fearing that their numbers and their character might endanger their new independence, and, what, they dreaded still more, the Loyalists might reclaim their vast properties and recover the debts due them from the Rebels, which the treaty of peace provided for. They saw with joy the proscription and exile of the best classes of their population, and determined they should never return.

The road of exile was taken up by myriads. It is reckoned that a hundred thousand people left the port of New York alone, and it is certain that at least ten thousand came to Canada and formed the beginnings of our Dominion of to-day.

The Six Nation Indians were the first to lead the way of exile, and settled upon a grant of country upon the Grand River, which is partly possessed by them at the present time.

It is unknown the reason why the Iroquois, after the destruction of the Hurons and Neutral Nations, did not take possession of their conquered territory, but allowed the Chippawas to enter in and hold it up to the end of the revolutionary war.

An interesting letter written by a Mohawk chief, Captain David Hill, gives an account of the cession of land by the Mississauguas to the Six Nations. It was written in Mohawk from Niagara, 29th May, 1784, and gives an account of a great council held at Niagara on the 13th May, 1784.

Chief Hill writes:

"In the morning we of the Six Nations all assembled, as did also the western Indians and the Mississauguas. Then Colonel Butler opened the council by saying that as we, the Six Nations and the Mississauguas, were now assembled he would acquaint the council with General Haldimand and Sir John Johnson's sentiments with regard to the situation of the Six Nations.

That it was their wish that the Mississauguas would consider of relinquishing to the Six Nations a place of abode, by purchase, so that they may possess it forever hereafter without any molestation or claim from whomsoever. And then the place and its extent were mentioned in behalf of Gen. Haldimand and Sir John Johnson, which, he said, they wished the Mississauguas would relinquish to the Six Nations.

This is what Col. Butler said, when the Mississauguas answered: "We have heard what Gen. Haldimand and Sir John Johnson had to say, and we have duly considered thereupon, for we remember what passed after the war before last, when in the spring of 1761 the late Sir William Johnson kindled a council fire at this place and established a permanent friendship and unanimity with all Indian nations under his superintendency, advising them not to quarrel or fall out with one another, and clearing up the path of peace between them and all the Indian nations, and keep the council fire burning at this place, Niagara.

"For which reason we have given cheerfully consideration, brothers, to the situation of the Six Nations, and make you, hereby, *a present* of the lands you pointed out to us. We are extremely glad we have lands left us to give you who have lost yours and have none.

"We consider lands with us Indians to be in common, and we hope while we are neighbors together we shall live always in peace and harmony, and recommend it to your warriors to be watchful in speaking among one another of matters and things concerning our mutual welfare and happiness.

"Now we have finished, brothers."

"After which, news was brought that a messenger has arrived at Chenussio from Congress in seven days, which was well we did hear of it, as it made us put off going to Little Oswego to plant. It was also well that nothing was done before we arrived about land matters, which made us come to a resolution to plant a few things here, which is all I have to tell you at present. With hearty salutations to you and Anoghsisshon. Acquaint Sir John with contents of this.

DAVID HILL."

This grant by the Mississauguas to the Six Nations was accompanied by a grant from the Crown of the lands comprising a strip of six miles wide on each side of the Grand River, from its mouth in Lake Erie to its source in the Northern territory, then unexplored, in the Province of Quebec, for the vast region (now Ontario) was still a portion of Quebec, and its rule and government was by decrees and orders from the Governor-General in the castle of St. Louis. This arrangement was destined soon to be annulled, and the Province of Upper Canada separated and given an autonomy of its own.

The promulgation of the peace of 1783, defining the limits of the United States, made a great change in the circumstances of the people gathered about the walls of Fort Niagara. That Fort was defined to be within the territory of the United States, and as such could not continue a home and place of abode for the Loyalists, who began at once to cross the river and select lands offered freely by the government for their future settlement. A very few pioneers had already passed over and seen the beauty and fertility of this land of tall forests and abundant water, of lakes and streams.

The exiles prepared at once to move. The first surveys were made and farms laid out on the Military Reserve, that is, the lands lying north of what is now called the west line in the Township of Niagara. Thitherto the first who made a settlement was Capt. Daniel Servos of Butler's Rangers, who built a house and presently a grist and saw mill on the Four Mile Creek and Lake Road. John Secord took up lands on the Lake Road. The family of Balls, prominent Loyalists from the Palatine-on-the-Mohawk, settled on lands near the site of the town. The Whitmores adjoined the Servoses. The Butlers, the MacFarlands, the Lawrences and hundreds of other settlers came in every week. Some built houses on the old site of Onghiara, some spread themselves in all directions in the fair country that lay before them. They were chiefly men who had been

trained to farm life and business of the kinds carried on in the colonies. But all the educated classes of the former colonies had a large representation in the body of United Empire Loyalists. Legislators, judges, lawyers, clergymen and men of wealth and culture formed the precious leaven of the new society which was destined to make Canada the great, moral, intelligent country it is. As once said Lady Franklin, the wife of Sir John, "Never since the days of Abraham, had a people so pure, so noble and so hopeful been created by Providence as the people of the Dominion of Canada."

The country was organized at first, by a proclamation of the Governor-General, into four large districts, named respectively: Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Hesse and Nassau. The Niagara settlements were in Nassau, and its chief place of local government and trade was the town of Niagara, which had at first received the name of Butlersburg, and then the name of West Niagara, which last it retained until 1792, when it received the name of Newark, which it retained until 1812.

The new town was carefully laid out in broad streets crossing at right angles, running northeast and southwest, with open spaces left for markets, barracks, churches, court house and other public buildings expected in time to be needed. The first streets settled on were King, Queen and Prideaux street—the last named for General Prideaux, killed at Niagara, 1759—and Johnson street, called after Col. Johnson, who also fell at the siege of Fort Niagara. The houses were at first principally of square timber and round logs. The landing from Fort Niagara was at the foot of King street. Navy Hall, an old winter quarter for government sailors on the lake, was at the end of Front street, under the bank where Fort George was subsequently built. Two or three well-frequented taverns invited wayfarers and newcomers to rest and refreshment. Merchants and traders, who had long been established at Fort Niagara, moved over into the new town. The Taylors, the Lymburners—Auldjo and Maitland,—the Streets, Clarks, Dicksons, Crooks and others opened stores and carried on a large trade with the district and in all the western country. Their goods were brought up from Montreal in batteaux and returned laden with furs, which as

yet was the only article of commerce which the country produced for export.

Captain Daniel Servos, a great business man as well as a gallant soldier, built in 1783 a house, grist and saw mill near the outlet of the Four Mile Creek, and in 1784 commenced clearing the land, and carried on a thriving business with the new settlers. He purchased his goods in Montreal and shipped furs in return. His books, still preserved by the family, show that the furs bought by him from the Indians and settlers were the elk, deer, bear, martin and others, but no beaver. The beaver had been extirpated on the large beaver meadows and dams that once were common in the district. His home farm had been largely a beaver meadow, but no beavers in the memory of man had built their curious habitations there. Deer, bears, wolves, foxes and porcupines were plentiful, also wild cats and panthers. The last named savage animal prowled about until 1854, when the last one seen was shot two miles from Niagara. Deer and wolves were common until about 1830, when it is said that the building of the Welland canal cut them off from eastern side of that water-way. The woods swarmed with squirrels—black, red and grey—and wild turkeys ran or flew in great flocks.

Snakes abounded of various species of adders, blacksnakes and rattlesnakes. The last are still found in the deep gorge of the Niagara between Queenston and the Falls, and sometimes in the country above. The swine raised by the settlers proved the destruction of the whole race of serpents in this district. The hogs fought and killed all snakes at sight. The bays and outlets of the creeks emptying into Lake Ontario were in the spring and autumn covered with wild fowl: the swan, wild goose and many species of duck abounded, and furnished excellent variety of food. In the ponds and brooks were snapping turtles of large size. They were considered as dainties, for it was held that fish, flesh and fowl were all contained in them.

The Niagara River was in the early spring covered with flocks of millions of that active, noisy bird, the kaween, so called by its Algonquin name—the ice duck or old man, also called. They pass to the Arctic regions on the approach of summer, and there breed their innumerable progeny. They are now nearly extinct in the Niagara River.

The splendid fish that abounded in Lake Ontario was an unfailing help to the new settlers. The beautiful, luscious white fish—which is the addikamang, the great herring of the Chippawas—came in shoals of millions along the shores, and were easily caught in the nets of those fishing for them.

They were salted in barrels or dried and smoked, while other valuable fish—the bass, black and white, the pickerel, the herring, the sturgeon, and lastly the salmon, added to the variety and luxury of the settlers' larder.

The country was covered with the smoke of the clearings. On every side rang the stroke of the woodman's axe, and the thud of the fall of the monarchs of the forest. The land was densely wooded. The oak, red, white and black; the maple of several varieties, chief of them the noble sugar maple the juice of which, tapped on the rise of the sap in February and March, afforded a plentiful supply of pure, delicious sugar for the use of the people; the elm, beech, hickory, walnut, ironwood, and in certain localities pine and cedar, with other sorts of trees, gave the settler labour to cut them down, either for fuel or to use for the building of his houses and barns, or to fence his newly cleared fields. Incessant was the warfare carried on against the forest, and half a man's life was gone before the land was fully cleared. The wild grape hung thick and abundantly rich in fruit, which was used for wine, but not so much as cider from the apples—a favorite drink of the settlers.

The Loyalists were a hardy, laborious race, thrifty and provident. Their first care after clearing and sowing their fields with wheat, maize, oats, barley and other grains, was to plant orchards of apples, pears, plums, cherries, and lastly peaches, with smaller fruits of berries of many kinds, and to cultivate in gardens all the esculent vegetables needed for the table. But at first the people had to wait until the land was cleared, sown and reaped, and for two or three years they were supported from the King's stores.

But one helped another. All were provided for and were content. There were few so-called labourers among them. The building of houses and barns, fences, harvesting and threshing, was done by the united help of all the neighbours, who made what they called bees, where all worked in common, assisting each other in turn, and

after their labours feasted, ate and drank, and sang loyal and patriotic songs half the night.

All owned land, for the King gave every man, woman and child of the U. E. Loyalists two hundred acres in fee simple, and the surveyors could not lay out the land fast enough for the multitude of settlers who came in from 1783 to 1792.

Horses, oxen for labour, cows, sheep and hogs multiplied apace, and poultry of all kinds soon swarmed in the barn yards. Their agricultural implements were rather rude and heavy, but with sturdy, skilful hands to use them, sufficed for the work of the farm. The summer was a season of labour. The winter also gave plenty to do in threshing out the grain with flails and horses and chopping in the forest, with abundance of visiting and merrymaking at the hospitable farm houses. The long war, the losses, confiscations and oppressions were never forgotten nor forgiven, but were not grieved over. The present and future were full of joy and hope and pride in their country and its place in the Empire, which they would not exchange for aught else that America had to offer.

CHAPTER XI.

1785.

IN the Canadian Idyl, of "The Hungry Year," the incoming of the United Empire Loyalists has been better described in verse than I can describe it in prose. True poetry is more true than the truest prose. Poetry is the chariot of truth, and its winged steeds, watered at the springs of morning, bring light and life into the thoughts and hearts of men, illumine history with a new radiance and warm the emotions and inner chambers of the mind with nobler feelings than we know of in the dull round of prosaic life. The opening of "The Hungry Year" is as follows:

"The war was over. Seven red years of blood
Had scourged the land from mountain-top to sea;
(So long it took to rend the mighty frame
Of England's empire in the western world).
With help of foreign arms and foreign gold,
Base faction and the Bourbon's mad revenge,
Rebellion won at last; and they who loved
The cause that had been lost, and kept their faith
To England's crown, and scorned an alien name,
Passed into exile; leaving all behind
Except their honour, and the conscious pride
Of duty done to country and to king.

Broad lands, ancestral homes, the gathered wealth
Of patient toil and self-denying years
Were confiscate and lost; for they had been
The salt and savor of the land; trained up
In honour, loyalty, and fear of God:
The wine upon the lees, decanted when
They left their native soil, with sword-belts drawn
The tighter; while the women, only, wept
At thought of old firesides no longer theirs—
At household treasures reft, and all the land
Upset and ruled by rebels to the king.

Not drooping like poor fugitives, they came
In exodus to our Canadian wilds;
But full of heart and hope, with heads erect
And fearless eyes victorious in defeat.
With thousand toils they forced their devious way
Through the great wilderness of silent woods
That gloomed o'er lake and stream, till higher rose
The northern star above the broad domain
Of half a continent, still theirs to hold,
Defend, and keep forever as their own,
Their own and England's, to the end of time.

The virgin forests, carpeted with leaves
Of many autumns fallen, crisp and sear,
Put on their woodland state; while overhead
Green seas of foliage roared a welcome home
To the proud exiles who for empire fought,
And kept, though losing much, this northern land
A refuge and defence for all who love
The broader freedom of a commonwealth,
Which wears upon its head a kingly crown.

Our great Canadian woods of mighty trees,
Proud oaks and pines, that grew for centuries—
King's gifts upon the exiles were bestowed.
Ten thousand homes were planted; and each one,
With axe, and fire, and mutual help, made war
Against the wilderness, and smote it down.

Into the opened glades, unlit before
Since forests grew or rivers ran, there leaped
The sun's bright rays, creative heat and light,
Waking to life the buried seeds that slept
Since Time's beginning in the earth's dark womb.
The tender grass sprang up, no man knew how;
The daisies' eyes unclosed; wild strawberries
Lay white as hoar-frost on the slopes, and sweet
The violets perfumed the evening air;
The nodding clover grew up everywhere,
The trailing rasp, the trefoil's yellow cup
Sparkled with dew drops; while the humming bees
And birds and butterflies, not seen before,
Found out the sunny spots and came in throngs.

But earth is man's own shadow, say the wise,
As wisdom's secrets are two-fold, and each
Responds to other, both in good and ill.
A crescent thought will one day orb to full.

The ground, uncovered by the woodman's axe,
Burst into bloom; but with the tender grass
And pretty flowers, came up the ugly dock,
The thistle, fennel, mullen, and a crowd
Of noisome weeds, that with the gentle flowers
Struggled for mastery, till the ploughman trod
Them down beneath his feet, and sowed the ground
With seed of corn for daily use and food.
And long and arduous were their labours ere
The rugged fields produced enough for all—
(For thousands came ere hundreds could be fed)
The scanty harvests, gleaned to their last ear,
Sufficed not yet. Men hungered for their bread
Before it grew, yet cheerful bore the hard,
Coarse fare and russet garb of pioneers—
In the great woods content to build a home
And commonwealth, where they could live secure
A life of honour, loyalty, and peace.

Men of a superior station in life in the old colonies had formed a very large proportion of the exiled Loyalists. Most of them had served in the ranks of the Colonial regiments, which took a distinguished part in the war for the United Empire. Everyone of them had a military bearing and an air of dignity and a kindly spirit of comradeship, derived from dangers and triumphs which they had shared together. But this was to be expected. The men of position with wealth, learning and culture, were generally opposed to the rebellion. Literature disappeared for two generations after the revolution. The best and almost the only writers in the colonies were among the exiles. In art and science it was the same. The names of Governor Hutchinson, Smith, Wilkins, Galloway, Rev. Dr. Peters, Rev. Dr. Seabury, Copley, West, Murray and Count Rumsey were not paralleled by their opponents. Franklin was the cynosure of rebellion, and Jefferson hired the renegade Englishman Paine to write up the Declaration of Independence and to write down religion and the sacred scriptures as friends of man.

None of Paine's admirers in politics or unbelief had a hand in the settlement of Canada by the Loyalists. They had tried to forestall it, and failed utterly and miserably in the attack on Quebec, with the death of Montgomery, 31st Dec., 1775.

The refugees, as fast as they arrived at Niagara, took up land

grants in the District of Nassau chiefly, and commenced the rough, arduous life in the bush, which was an imperative necessity for all who had to live in the new country.

Governor Haldimand, who was most sympathetic and solicitous for the welfare of the immigrants, issued a proclamation for the organization of the four districts of Nassau, Hesse, Lunenburg and Mecklenburg, to give them civil jurisdictions and establish the English criminal laws, with courts and justices, and to empower the General Sessions to make and repair roads and bridges, and make provision for religion and the public peace and order.

The four districts were still legally a part of the Province of Quebec. The French civil law as to property and inheritance ruled in Nassau. It was obnoxious to the free English spirit of the common law, and as soon as the new comers had time to consider their position they objected to the French laws, and petitioned for their abrogation in this part of the Province, and kept on petitioning until they carried their point, and secured from the imperial parliament the passage of the Act of 1791, which established the Province of Upper Canada and made it separate and independent of the Province of Quebec.

The lake road from Niagara to the head of the lake was opened and bridged; the river road to Queenston and the Falls was improved and early settled on; a road through the swamp called the old *Marais Normand* ran to St. Davids—first settled by Major David Secord of Butler's Rangers, who built a mill about 1786 near the head of the Four Mile Creek; a road from Queenston to the head of the lake gave access to the rich, spacious territory of the interior of the District of Nassau and the western country.

As settlements spread in all directions, the people were soon able to dispense with the military rations issued from Fort Niagara, and began to be self-supporting, when the calamity of "The Hungry Year" overtook them in 1787 and 1788. Years of terrible drought and burning heat dried up the springs and wells throughout the land, all crops withered in the ground, and a veritable famine prevailed in the new settlements. Bread there was almost none; cattle of all kinds died, and water at a distance from lake and river was unattainable. The leaves of trees and inner bark of the slippery elm were

used for food, wild onions and other roots were dug up, and fish was eagerly sought in the lake. Game and birds largely disappeared from the woods for want of food and water, while forest fires added terror to the hard trials of the people.

The King's stores at Niagara were again opened, and rations of food freely distributed to the suffering settlers. The supplies were hard to keep up, but with economy and good management the lives of all were preserved, except in a few instances where very remote settlers could not avail themselves of the King's bounty.

Those severe trials were patiently and uncomplainingly borne. Each one helped his neighbour without grudging, and joined in Christian hope and prayer that the hungry year might soon pass away and plenty be given to the land; and it did pass away, and the chosen home of the exiles in a year or two abounded with plenty. Rain and sunshine and every seasonable blessing were restored, and deepfelt thankfulness to Almighty God reigned in the hearts of the people for the advent of prosperity.

The immigration of Loyalists from the old colonies continued without ceasing. After the men of the war—soldiers of Colonial corps, Indians and refugees, who first came—there followed for several years a stream of people—Quakers, Mennonites, and civilians of all kinds, chiefly farmers and artizans—who could not stand the factions and disorders of the new-fangled government of congress, and preferred the quiet and security of life and property under their old native flag of England.

The Loyalists, as to origin and language, were a mixed people. The majority of them were English speaking, but half of those who came to Niagara used the high or low German and Dutch, as spoken by the people of the interior of New York and Pennsylvania. All were Protestants, either of the Church of England or German Lutherans or Dutch Calvinists. But religious differences had no force to divide them. The welding heat of political harmony and intense loyalty to the British Crown and government, caused that neither difference of language nor of religious opinion was able to create the slightest spirit of discord among them.

One of the first cares of the government was the survey of the new districts into townships, and lots of two hundred acres each, with

ample road allowances of front and side lines, giving every lot access to a public highway. The first surveys were made under directions of Surveyor-General Smith, by Augustus Jones, a Welch surveyor, who married the daughter of a Chippawa chief—the father of the Rev. Peter Jones, chief of the Mississauguas, and the grandfather of Dr. Jones, head chief of that nation at the present time.

A Land Board, consisting of gentlemen of the district, appointed by the Crown to this office, granted the lands to immigrants, the King's subjects by birth or naturalization, on such conditions as they were authorized by the Governor-General to do.

The first complete survey of the Town of Niagara and its division into lots was adopted by the Land Board at a meeting held at Niagara, 24th June, 1791.

That important meeting is on record as follows:

There were present:

Colonel Gordon, commanding upper posts.

Lt.-Colonel Butler,
Peter Tenbrook,
Robert Hamilton,
Benj. Pawling,
John Burtch,
John Warren,
John McNabb,
} *Esquires.*

The resolution adopted by the Land Board was as follows:

The Board, after reconsidering the plans for a county town in this district, relinquish the first proposal by the surveyor-general, and adopt the second as the most eligible; the first having been curtailed by the reservation for government to a front of only eight hundred yards.

They accordingly direct the surveyor to run the outlines of the said town to the west of Navy Hall, adjoining the reservation, and they direct that such persons as may be inclined to build on town lots shall pay to the present possessors two pounds ten shillings, N. Y. Cy., for each improved acre, and the present occupants are permitted to retain the lot on which their houses may face.

The Board authorize a public house on the corner lot at the east end of the town adjoining the river, and a Masons' lodge on the next to it.

Adjourned to 2nd Monday in July.

These regulations were acted on until the arrival of Governor Simcoe in 1792, when a more extended survey was made for a capital for Upper Canada.

Butler's Barracks were built at this time, in order to relieve the

crowding of troops at Fort Niagara, where the full regiment of Cameronians, under Col. Gordon, was stationed, and the regiments of Butler's Rangers, Johnson's, Green's and detachments of other corps were stationed in the new barracks at Niagara, and which continued to be the headquarters for many years. The regiment of Butler's Rangers was one of the finest lot of soldiers that ever marched in an army. Many of the original officers and men belonging to it had settled in the Township of Niagara and other townships, but the regiment was by fresh enlistments maintained at full strength for several years after the war.

The Six Nation Indians, settled on the Grand River, made Niagara their chief town. They built a large council house near Butler's Barracks. The deputy-superintendent, Colonel Butler, resided here, and here all important business of the Six Nations was transacted. The large council room was arranged for kindling the council fires, and was often in use by the tribes. The council room was also used for divine service by the Church of England until the Church of St. Mark's was erected, about 1804.

CHAPTER XII.

1785.

COLONEL Arent Schuyler DePeyster of the 8th or King's Regiment was commandant at Detroit and Michilimacinac from 1777 for over five years. He then was made commandant at Niagara, where he remained a couple of years. He was a most intelligent, skillful officer, and had great influence with the Indians of the west, from whom he obtained by gift or purchase over three hundred white prisoners—men, women and children—who had been carried off in the Indian raids upon the back settlements of Kentucky, Virginia and Pennsylvania. He took the tenderest care of them, and when peace was restored they were sent back to their friends and homes, clothed, fed and protected on the way.

His presence at Niagara was most agreeable to the settlers, and when, in 1785, he returned with his gallant regiment to England, kind addresses were presented to him of farewell and good wishes by the people and the Indians of the Six Nations, who came down to bid him adieu.

One of the addresses is given here:

NIAGARA, 25th June, 1785.

Address of the chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations, assembled in Council, to Lieut.-Col. DePeyster, commanding the Upper Posts, Lakes, &c.:

The chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations being informed that Colonel DePeyster, with the King's Regiment, is preparing to depart from this post, wish to assure him in particular, and the gentlemen of the regiment in general, that they will ever preserve the most grateful remembrance of his past conduct to them, not only since his arrival at this post, but on many former occasions, whilst he commanded at Detroit. The uninterrupted friendly intercourse which has constantly subsisted between them and the gentlemen of the King's Regiment, and the many acts of kindness they received from them here, made the deepest impression on them, and they look forward to the moment of their departure with unfeigned regret.

They therefore beg leave to express to the Colonel and gentlemen their

sincere wishes that they may have a safe and pleasant passage to England, where, they make no doubt, they will meet with a gracious reception, which their long services and exemplary conduct in the country so justly entitles them to.

[Signed,] JOSEPH BRANT (Thayendanegea).
DAVID HILL (Haronghyontye).
ISAAC HILL (Anonghsoktea).

Signed for themselves and the chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations.

The reply of Colonel DePeyster was as follows:—

FORT NIAGARA, 26th June, 1785.

Colonel DePeyster, for himself and the officers of the King's Regiment, is very much pleased with the address from the chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations, and in return for their kindness unite themselves heartily in wishing them a lasting peace, attended with every other blessing. The Colonel further assures them he leaves the upper district with the Loyalist Rangers, (now a reduced military corps,) whom he has settled at the head of the lake and on the Chippawa, together with his Indian children and brothers, with the greatest regret; that he will never forget their attachment, and begs of his good friend Thayendanegea to send in his name belts of white wampum to his friends the chiefs of the Shawanese towns of Chillicothekie and Waakamakie, and to the Hurons of Sandusky, to assure the Half-King Orotondie, the Snake, and Mis-qu-a-ka-ni-gaw, that they will not forget their promise to continue firm as the oak and as deep as the waters in the cause of the King of Great Britain, and that they will bring up their youth in the same sentiments, stopping their ears to the croaking of bad birds, lest they become an easy prey to their enemies. Health, &c.

The address of the people of Niagara on this occasion has not been preserved. The gallant King's Regiment returned to England after a most honourable service in Canada. It was replaced at Niagara by the Twenty-sixth or Cameronian Regiment, under the command of Colonel Gordon.

In justice to the humanity ever displayed by Colonel DePeyster and the English officers generally, I give a reply of Colonel DePeyster to a speech of the Shawanese, sent by Lieutenant Caldwell, 7th Nov., 1779:—

Children: It is the father from Michilimackinac speaks—who now is become your father. Such is the pleasure of the general, the great man at Quebec. It is with pleasure I heard of your success on the Ohio. It is a good presage on my arrival amongst you. The Great Spirit will favor our arms. He will give us many such successful strokes, till rebellion is laid low.

Your request to have troops sent to protect your wives and children is not at present in my power to grant. You must be sensible that all that could be spared were sent to assist our brethren the Six Nations, who salute

you, and are gone to imitate your late example. They are gone to drive the enemy from Tioga. Keep a good heart whilst the Great Spirit favours you. Accept a part of your request from my hands, whilst it is not in my power to grant the whole. To you, to the Delawares, the Mingoes and Wiandots, I send a proportion of ammunition and clothing. It is all I can spare at present. Clothe your women and children and give them comfort. The enemy, seeing you brave, will shun you. Be merciful to the aged, the women and children, and the Great Spirit will favor you with the like success upon all occasions.

If you take them prisoners bring them to me. I have use for them, and you shall be rewarded. Otherwise, leave them amongst the enemy—they have mouths, and will eat and distress their warriors, whilst they cannot hurt us, not even the male children, for this war will soon be at an end; the rebels cannot hold it long. The papers you have sent speak of nothing but distress amongst them.

I have a little girl with me, a white slave. I want her mother and sister. They are with the Delawares and Munceys. Captain McKee has power to speak to them. I will reward the owners.

Success attend your warriors, and plenty and good days be the portion of your women and children.

A. S. DEPEYSTER.

The mother and sister of Miss Mary West, the girl above mentioned, were soon sent in in consequence of this message. By such means as these Colonel DePeyster, as has been said, got above three hundred prisoners out of the hands of the Indians. Some of those captives, with others from different parts, came to Niagara and were adoped by the Loyalists. They remained in Canada, and became the progenitors of some of the most respectable families of the District of Nassau.

I will rescue from oblivion here—untranslated—a charming French address presented by the merchants and traders of Michilimacinac to Colonel DePeyster with the gift of a splendid silver punch bowl, which cost one hundred and twenty guineas, on the occasion of his leaving that post in September, 1779. It is a fine specimen of the spirit of the times, and worth preservation:

Arent Schuyler DePeyster, Ecuyer, Lt.-Colonel du 8me on Regiment du Roi, commandant le poste de Michilimacinac et ses dependances, &c.:

MONSIEUR,—On ne concoit jamais mieux la grandeur d'un bien que lors qu'on est a la veille d'en etre privé, tant qu'il est sous nos yeux, nous en admirons seulement l'excellence et le prix, mais des qu'il va disparoitre, c'est alors que succedent à l'admiration, le regret et la douleur—tels sont

nos sentimens, Monsieur, admirateurs de vos exquises qualités, nous les observions dans la silence ; nous nous felicitions entre nous d'avoir à notre tete une personne aussi digne que vous de cet emploi, tant par votre prudence que par vos rares talens, mais sur le point de vous perdre il n'est aucun de nous, qui penetré d'un sensible regret ne dise:

Je perds en cet homme un puissant protecteur.
Il etoit mon appui, il fut mon bienfaiteur,
Prudant dans ses conseils juste dans ses desseins
Il etendoit sur tout ses bienfaisantes mains,
Au milieu des travaux consacrés à san roi
Par bonté, d'un chacun il assignoit l'emploi.
Impartial, integre dans tous ses jugements ;
Jamais son equité ne fit des mécontens.

Nous ne serons pas plus heureux, Monsieur, dans l'éloge que meritent les excellentes qualités de Madame, que nous ne le sommes dans cette brave exposition de celle que vous faites eclater tous les jours, puis-que comme vous, elle porte les vertus de son sexe. Jusqu'au degré le plus eminent, ce qui-nous fait dire avec verité, qu'il semble que le ciel vous ait formé tous deux pour etre l'admiration de tout le monde. Penetrés de ces sentimens nous prenons la liberté de dire :

Pour louer vos vertus, Madame,
Nous avouons, ingenument
Que les qualités de votre ame,
Surpassent notre jugement,
Votre douceur, votre bonté,
Vos graces, votre charité,
Sont au dessus de nos esprits,
Nous ne pouvons pas exprimer
Nous nous contentons d'admirer,
Des qualités d'un si haut prix.

Nous ne craignous pas, Monsieur, et Madame, d'etre accusés de flatterie on d'exageration de ces foibles peintures de vos vertus les plus communes. Au contraire, nous avons tout lieu d'apprehender qu'on ne nous reproche d'avoir hazardé un insipide eloge sur des qualités qui ne peuvent etre qu'admirées ; nous prions cependant qu'en consideration des motifs qui nous ont poussés dans cette enterprize hardie, on nous pardonera cette temerité. Nous attendons de vous la meme indulgence, et pour nous la concilier plus surement, nous vous protestons que ce sont les effets de la plus vive reconnoissance. C'est ellememe qui nous engage encore à vous prier d'accepter Monsieur, le present que nous vous offrons comme un gage de la sincerité de nos coeurs. Il vous sera présenté dans le lieu qui vous est destiné. Quelques mots frappés dessus rappeleront à votre memoire le souvenir de ceux qui conserveront toujours votre nom gravé dans leurs coeurs par tous vos bienfaits.

En reconnoissance desquels nous avons l'honneur d'etre tres respectueusement, Monsieur,

Vos tres humbles et tres obeissans serviteurs.

Signé par, JOHN ASKIN,
BENJN. LYON,
LOUIS CHARBOULLIER,
HENRY BOSTWICK,
LAURENT DUCHENE,
et vignt autres.

AMichilimacinac, ce 20me Sept., 1779.

The name Michilimacinac signifies a turtle. Hence the figure of a turtle was engraved on the bottom of the punch bowl, with the following lines.:

Je me souviens Tortue, en voyant ton image
Que tu fus pour six aus mon unique partage.

Which may be rendered thus :

O Turtle, when thy image here I see,
Six years unique recall I spent with thee.

I append the reply of Colonel DePeyster to the above address, which was in English :

To the gentlemen, traders, and to the Post of Michilimacinac and its dependencies:

GENTLEMEN, —It was with the greatest pleasure and gratitude I received the compliment you were pleased to make me this morning.

Your approbation of my conduct during a long command in the critical situation of affairs cannot be otherwise than flattering to me. The more so when I reflect that I have ever been steady to the various duties entrusted to me, without giving offence to individuals, which evinces that the post of Michilimacinac abounds in loyal subjects.

I have ever made it my study to promote the trade of this post and its dependencies. Happy could I have succeeded more to my wishes, but I am now in hopes, from the assurances of the Indians, that trade will take a more favorable turn soon.

They are determined to clear the Illinois at one stroke, or at least to make the situation of the Kitchimokomans (the Rebels) there so disagreeable that they must necessarily abandon further thoughts of any expedition either against Detroit or this post. In the execution of which they have promised to act with humanity ; to strike none but such as appear in arms, and, to use their own expression, spoil their lands.

I cannot take my leave without expressing the highest sense of gratitude for your attention to Mrs. DePeyster. She is sensible of your politeness, and desires me to acknowledge it in her behalf. I have the honour to be, with great esteem, &c.,

Gentlemen, your most humble and much obliged servant,

A. S. DEPEYSTER.

MICHILIMACINAC, 20th Sept., 1779.

Colonel DePeyster, in his notes, describes the journey of his wife, in 1774, from Quebec to Michilimacinac. I copy the part of it descriptive of Niagara:—

"From Asweegatchie (now Ogdensburg) she proceeded in a ship of war, the Ontario, passing through the archipelago to Cateroque, and from thence across the Lake Ontario to Niagara. From Fort Niagara proceeded to the landing, which is nine miles up the river, whence the ship was laid alongside a wharf and the baggage and provisions put upon cradles, so contrived that by the force of a capstan the whole was drawn up a steep hill, and there put into large wagons drawn by six oxen and two horses each, for fourteen miles through the woods to Stedman's Landing or carrying place, from whence the lady returned to view the Falls of Niagara, where, lying on her breast, she drank of the water as it fell over the precipice.

"From Steadman's proceeded in batteaus 17 miles up the river (from which the Falls are supplied) to Fort Erie, at the entrance of the lake of that name, where she embarked in a sloop of war named the *Dunmore* and proceeded to Fort Detroit, a most beautiful settlement; from thence over Lakes Sinclair and Huron to the destined post of Michilimacinac, where she remained six years; thence returned to Detroit, where her husband commanded the garrison also, and afterwards, in 1785, went to Niagara, where he commanded the whole Upper District of Canada."

CHAPTER XIII.

1787.

FROM the depression of "The Hungry Year" the country gradually recovered its tone of hopefulness. The seasons came again, of early and latter rains, sunshine and harvests, increase of cattle, and in the homes were found most of the necessaries and comforts of life. The men worked diligently in the fields and forests. The women made the house bright and happy with good housewifery, and ever a clean table cloth, and a bright fire in winter.

The inflow of new settlers was kept up many years after 1784. Many good, loyal men had been compelled for family, business and other reasons, to defer coming in until a later date than the bulk of the refugees. But the right spirit was in them all, they came at last, and kept their fealty unbroken by removing to Canada.

As LeRoy Hooker has sung:

> "For these, their sturdy hands
> By hated treason undefiled,
> Might win from the Canadian wild
> A home on British lands."

The Loyalists, in relief from their industrious labours, had much to interest them. The daily arrivals of friends and people from the former colonies to join their settlements or form new ones were a constant subject of conversation and social pleasure—to welcome them on their arrival and assist them on their way to new homes was the greatest of pleasures. Then the news that came in of wars and rumours of wars in the old world and the new. The terrible fate of France, which had learned her lessons of rebellion in America, and upset the Bourbon dynasty which had given success to congress, seemed to them like a deserved retribution. The distractions of democracy in the revolted colonies—where the broken up government tended to the rule of the bad over the good, the reck-

less over the prudent, the lawless over those who wanted peace and order—these topics formed much of the matter of conversation in all casual or formal gatherings of the people, who, by thorough knowledge and bitter experience, knew so well the kind of men they had left behind them.

A very large proportion of the settlers at Niagara were men of education and civil and military experience, who watched keenly the struggle of factions in the United States, where the Democrats under the lead of Jefferson were trying to force an alliance with the French Revolutionists, and opposed savagely the party of Federalists, which contained within its ranks the wealthier classes and any remnants of the people who secretly favoured Great Britain in her opposition to France. The country was on the edge of a new war with Britain, and it was no fault of Jefferson and his party that it escaped from it.

The men prominent in Niagara at that time were Colonel Gordon, the commandant; Colonel Butler, of the Rangers; Colonel Guy Johnston, superintendent of Indian affairs, a son-in-law, by his first wife, of Sir William Johnson, and whose second wife was Miss Powell, sister of Colonel Wm. Powell, a U. E. Loyalist of Fort Erie, whose other sister was the wife of Captain Daniel Servos of the Lake Road. A prominent physician and magistrate was Dr. John Ker, a scion of the Scottish Dukes of Roxburg. He married Miss Brant, a daughter of the chief Joseph Brant. Dr. Muirhead was also a physician and magistrate, an able and prominent man in Niagara society, who married Miss Butler, daughter of Colonel John Butler. Robert Hamilton of Queenston was another notable man and magistrate. Beverley Robinson, Capt. MacLean and MacCauley were men of mark and education, and whose descendants were afterwards eminent judges upon the bench of Upper Canada, and who have not been surpassed since for legal knowledge and ability in Canada.

Among the prominent Loyalists may be mentioned the Clarks, Merritts, Steadmans, Middaughs, Pickards and the Balls—a numerous family who came from the German Palatines on the Mohawk—Vaneverys and Turneys, who settled in Niagara township; Streets, Steadmans, Clarks and Burtches of Niagara Falls; to Chippawa went the Cummings, Macklems and others; the Kerbys, Warrens, Powells, Wintermoots and Maybees settled at Fort Erie; in Grimsby

was an early settlement of Nelles, Petits, Carpenters and other. It would fill a volume the mere recording of their names.

The Clenches were a numerous family of Loyalists, the chief of whom was Ralf Clench, afterwards Judge of the King's Bench. The Whitmores, Clements and Lawrences were prosperous wealthy farmers. The Lawrences had belonged to Butler's Rangers. John Clement, who took up a large tract of land in the township, had been a most conspicuous and active leader of the Northern Confederate Indians, an embodied force whose services in scouting and hunting down the rebel bands of partizans and Sons of Liberty were a striking feature of the war. Captain John Clement caught and destroyed a large body of partizans under a noted rebel leader, Captain Bull. He acquired the name of Ranger John, and as such is referred to in the Canadian Epic poem of the U. E. The old hero is buried in St. Mark's churchyard.

During the first few years of the settlement people were too busy in laying the foundations of the town and opening up the country for places to live in to give time to much thought of socety. The women were refined and clever, as became ladies brought up in the best classes of the old colonial regime.

They had saved little or nothing from the wreck of their old, plentiful homes, and had to first begin to surround themselves with the necessaries of household living in their rude log and timber homes, but their ideal was ever before their eyes. The elegancies of life were not forgotten; year by year they gathered them together, and family after family lifted up their heads as people who knew what the refinements of civilized life consisted of, and surrounded themselves with them. One followed another in example, and in four or five years Niagara was mentioned with respect and admiration, as a community of ladies and gentlemen who gave a tone to the whole of the Province. This became still more the case after the advent of Governor Simcoe and his noble wife in 1792, when the formation of the new government of Upper Canada brought to Niagara the best people in the Province, to the seat of government, and the newly recovered signs and symbols of polite life and civilization spread, as from a center, throughout this country.

The ladies who gave tone to polite society in Niagara and spread

refinement and good manners to the rest of the Provinces, were honoured with the chivalrous devotion and respect of the U. E. Loyalists. The women were worthy of the men—no higher eulogium need be said of them. The following ladies were prominent in Niagara society from 1792 to 1800, and their names are recorded as the belles of the day:—

2	Miss	Kerrs,	2	Miss	Stuarts,
3	"	Clenches,	2	"	Balls,
3	"	Symingtons,	1	"	Prendergast,
3	"	Secords,	2	"	Merritts,
1	"	Wright,	2	"	Tenbrooks,
3	"	Crooks,	2	"	Clements,
1	"	Butler,	2	"	Addisons,
1	"	Fry,	1	"	Ingersoll,
1	"	Adams,	1	"	Hainer,
1	"	Murray,	1	"	Hatt,
1	"	Street,	1	"	Thompson,
2	"	Servos,	1	"	Cumming,
2	"	Brants,	1	"	Claus.

The above ladies were in time the progenitors of hundreds of families now existing in the Nigara District, and, indeed, all over the Province of Ontario.

The Land Board regulations were acted on until the arrival of Governor Simcoe in 1792, when a more complete and extended survey was made for a capital of Upper Canada, a government house erected on the site of the present town hall, and new streets laid out and built on by the rapidly increasing population of Niagara, which was then given the name of Newark.

Amid scarcity and penury for the few first years, it was not an easy task to recover themselves after the loss of everything in their old homes. But they fought the battle of life bravely. Their souls were above their surroundings. They made the best of the situation, with cheerfulness and courage. The high price and scarcity of articles of clothing, which alone could be obtained from Montreal, created an immense home industry. As soon as wool was got from the flock, the women's skilful, industrious hands carded, spun, dyed and wove it into plain not unhandsome cloths for their own and

men's apparel. The hum of the spinning wheel and the clack of the loom were familiar sounds in every farm house.

Flax was also cultivated, and the spinning and weaving of linen for home use was a feature of the times, and excellent fabrics, even "seventeen hundred" linen, as white as driven snow, supplied the household with all it needed. In the house of the writer is preserved linen from flax grown, spun and woven in the Township of Niagara a century ago, where not an acre of flax is now to be found. They valued their linen and drapery.

The Hon. Joseph Howe of Nova Scotia, sitting down, in 1853, at her table to dinner, remarked out of compliment to my wife: "That a clean, white tablecloth was one of the sure tokens of a true U. E. Loyalist lady."

Life was not dull with them. The Loyalists were a social, kindly people, visited each other much, and enjoyed in common such simple, hearty amusements as were attainable. Balls and parties of pleasure were common, and surprise was always created by the unexpected stores of lace, jewelry and handsome dresses which the women and girls were able to display on gala occasions. But their native beauty and grace were still more the admiration of all beholders.

The Indians, of which the town was generally full, had great matches of lacrosse on the common, where also horse racing, militia training and reviews of the regulars were held on the 4th of June, (the King's birthday,) and at other special times. Christmas and Easter were observed with decorum, but on New Year's morn the young militia men went round in companies and fired *feux de joie* at the houses of their friends before daylight. The Loyalists were a happy, united people. They enjoyed the peace and plenty they had all the more because they knew they had well earned them.

The year 1790-1 was troubled by the great Indian wars in the western territories of the United States—wars occasioned by the lawless greed of the frontier people of Virginia, Pennsylvania and Kentucky, who entered the Indian territory of the Ohio and claimed the right to take and possess it.

The British Government, anxious for peace on the frontiers of Canada and in the west—where they held armed posts—strove to keep down the native tribes, but the Shawnese, Miamies, Wyandots

and others were too numerous, warlike and too angry to be restrained. Justice was solely on the side of the Indians, and the outrages they experienced from the lawless invaders of their country drove them to war.

The Indians gathered under the leadership of Little Turtle, an able chief. They defeated General Harmar, and in 1791 inflicted a still more fatal defeat on the army of General St. Clair in Ohio, which they almost exterminated.

Brant, whose home was usually in Niagara, was absent in the west at this time. It is an historical doubt to this day whether he was not, despite the policy and orders of the Government, present at the defeat of St. Clair—if not fighting, at least giving Little Turtle the benefit of his knowledge and experience in battle with his old enemies.

News of these events in the west were received by the settlers at Niagara with deep interest and sympathy for the Indians, who they knew had right and justice on their side, and who were simply defending their own against lawless aggression, for the government of the United States itself had condemned the invasion of the Indian territory but was unable to restrain the frontiermen, who had the sympathy and support of their States behind them.

The new settlements in Canada formed by this time a numerous, intelligent and prospering body of people.

It was in 1791 that Prince Edward, the father of her present Majesty, visited the Town of Niagara and Niagara Falls. He was, of course, received with the greatest distinction, and all the honour possible was paid him. The resources of the colony were limited, but loyal addresses, balls and driving parties of pleasure were got up with enthusiasm. He was entertained at Navy Hall by the commandant at Niagara, and general rejoicing took place. The people came in by thousands from remote settlements to pay their respects to the son of the good King for whom they had fought so long, and under whose protection they enjoyed their present lands, homes and liberties of British subjects.

The Prince was a handsome young man, full of life and fun. He enjoyed immensely his two weeks visit at Niagara. He was an admirer of beautiful, attractive women. He found plenty of such at

Niagara, and by whom in return he was idolized. The whole generation of ladies who lived in the fortunate period of Prince Edward's visit never forgot or ceased to relate the introductions they had had, or the balls in which they had for a partner the Royal Prince.

One incident of his visit I will relate. During the privations of the "Hungry Year" the over-careful commissariat officers, who were under general orders to issue rations out of the military stores to the people, had in some cases charged in their books the price of the provisions given to certain settlers, and now were demanding payment for the same. A number of these settlers, headed by David Shultes, waited on the Prince and stated their grievance to him in plain, low Dutch. The Prince heard them with sympathy, and calling in the commissariat officers ordered them to cancel every charge they had in their books against any of the settlers. "My father," exclaimed he, "is not a merchant to deal in bread and ask payment for food granted for relief of his loyal subjects."

The loyal farmers returned home triumphant, and the fame of Prince Edward as a true friend of the Loyalists was in every mouth in the settlement.

No public worship had been established in the settlement before the arrival of the Rev. Dr. Addison, who was sent as a missionary by the venerable society for the propagation of the gospel. He arrived at Niagara in 1792, a short time before Governor Simcoe. The only public celebration of divine worship previous to his arrival had been by the chaplains of the regiments in garrison.

Marriages had been by law performed by the magistrates and commanding officers of the troops. The need of a properly ordained clergy was much felt. The arrival of the Rev. Dr. Addison gave great pleasure to the people everywhere. The Rev. Dr. Addison was a man of profound learning and piety, and embued with warm missionary zeal, which had caused him to give up a large parish and rich living in England in order to plant the church in this new country. He had received a thorough training at Cambridge, and was a lifelong student of literature and of all the secular and theological learning of the times. He brought with him a large library of most valuable books: old editions of the Bible and classics, with the best works of English writers, poets, philosophers, and others of best

repute. That library is in great part still preserved in the rectory of St. Mark's. It is the oldest in Upper Canada, and most interesting, as a memorial of its whilome owner, the first parish priest in the Province.

The parish register begun by the Rev. Dr. Addison is still in existence. It is a record of the marriages, births and deaths in the parish from the date of Dr. Addison's arrival, and when he was the only clergyman in the Province. He was chaplain of the garrison also, and performed divine service in the Indian council house on the common until St. Mark's church was built in 1804.

The Rev. Dr. Addison was a man of fine presence and able speech. His labours were untiring. He travelled all over the settlements in the discharge of his ministerial duties; preaching, marrying, christening and burying with the beautiful service of the church all such he could reach.

He was a man of wealth, too, which he was most generous in the disposal of. He built for himself a large, handsome house on the lake, near Niagara. The house still stands, much changed, however, but retains its old name of Lake Lodge. That house the Governor and all that was best in Niagara society loved to visit and enjoy the hospitality and agreeable conversation of the learned rector.

The life and labours of Dr. Addison are concisely graven on a large marble tablet erected to his memory in the church of St. Mark's:

"To the memory of the Rev. Robert Addison, first missionary in this district of the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He commenced his labours in 1792, which, by the blessing of Divine Providence, he was enabled to continue for 37 years. Besides his stated services of St. Mark's church in this town, he visited and officiated in different parts of this and the adjoining districts until other missionaries arrived. He was born in Westmoreland, England, and died October 6th, 1829, in the 75th year of his age.

"Remember them which have rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God, whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation Jesus Christ—the same yesterday, to-day and forever.—Heb. xiii., 7-8."

This tablet was erected as a testimony of respect and affection by friends of the deceased.

CHAPTER XIV.

1792.

THE desire and indeed the necessity, for the establishment of a separate province, free from French influences and the civil laws of Quebec, grew rapidly in the new settlements. Powerful petitions and other representations were addressed to the Imperial Government and to the Governor-General of Quebec, asking for a separation. Their prayers were reasonable and right. The administration of Pitt wholly approved of them, and it was promised that a bill would be brought into parliament for the division of the old Province of Quebec into two provinces, to be respectively called Upper and Lower Canada.

The French Canadians took little care about the matter, but the English merchants and settlers in Quebec opposed this measure strenuously, and that for two main reasons: They wanted to keep the English element strong by retaining the support of the people of the western country, and they feared the loss of trade, of which the Quebec and Montreal merchants had long held a monopoly in Niagara and all other settlements in the districts west.

One Lymburner, a very clever merchant and eloquent speaker and writer, was sent to London with a deputation to oppose the Quebec bill of the Government. He did oppose it, in writing and orally, before committees of the Houses of Parliament. But the opposition availed not—the sympathies of the administration were with the Loyalists. Colonel Graves Simcoe was a member of the House of Commons and assisted greatly in its passage.

Political strife in England was then at his height. The French revolution had divided the parties of Whigs and Tories into two irreconcilable camps. The French revolutionary spirit disturbed every question of national policy. Fox and Sheridan, with a power-

ful party behind them, were the champions of so-called liberty. They met Pitt and Burke, and the men who stood up for the constitution, in fierce political battle. The conflict raged with its greatest fury over the clauses of the Canada Act of 1791.

In the course of debate in the House of Commons, the quarrel which had broken out between Burke and Fox over the French revolution culminated in the memorable scene in which Burke renounced forever the political alliance and personal friendship of Fox in these fateful words:—

"Hitherto," said he, "Mr. Fox and myself have often differed upon slight matters without a loss of friendship on either side, but there is something in this cursed French revolution that envenoms everything."

Mr. Fox, upon this, whispered: "There is no loss of friendship between us."

Mr. Burke replied: "Yes, there is! I know the price of my conduct. Our friendship is at an end!"

Mr. Fox had proposed some French democratic principles in the composition of the Legislative Councils of Canada, which Burke opposed and was supported by Pitt in making the councils nominative, as in accordance with English constitutional forms for a second chamber.

The bill for the division of Canada and the establishment of constitutional governments in the two provinces was passed and at once received the royal assent. The new Province of Upper Canada was ushered into being to the great joy and pride of the loyal people of the colony, and by none more than by the inhabitants of Niagara, which town was to be the capital and seat of government of Upper Canada.

The previous divisions of Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Hesse and Nassau were abolished, and Upper Canada was divided into districts of counties for electoral and judicial purposes.

Niagara was already a well built town of much business and commerce. A continual influx of immigrants from the United States spread settlement far into the interior of the province.

Colonel John Graves Simcoe, member of the House of Commons

for St. Mews, Cornwall, had participated in all the proceedings of the House in passing the Canada Act.

The Government did both itself and him honour by appointing him to the Governorship of Upper Canada. A more fitting and more acceptable appointment could not have been made.

Simcoe was a man of much military experience, a scholar and statesman. He possessed broad, clear opinions and was thoroughly grounded in the principles of the English constitution. His writings and letters, of which many are preserved, are models of English style and composition and of sound reasoning, such as few of that age could equal. He was a man of amiable, but firm, character, of ready and persuasive speech, and of a liberal education, with natural tact and readiness in affairs unequalled by most of his contemporaries.

He had served with distinction as colonel of the Queen's Rangers, a cavalry corps in the war of the revolution. His skill and success in defending New Jersey against Washington won fame for himself and his troops, but secured the malignant hatred of Washington, whose cold, vindictive spirit was never moved by a feeling of generosity towards an opponent. Simcoe was upon one occasion surprised and taken prisoner by a Rebel force, and for no reason and contrary to the laws of war was, by order of Washington, thrown into a foul, close dungeon not fit for a criminal, let alone a soldier and gentleman. Washington refused either to parole him or give him humane treatment, and it was only through the threats of retaliation on the part of General Clinton that Simcoe obtained his release. Simcoe's exploits in the Revolutionary war have been recorded in his life by Mr. David Reed of Toronto in a volume that ought to be studied by every Canadian.

Simcoe returned to England and entered upon a career of public life which completely justified the Government in selecting him to the great work of inaugurating constitutional rule in Upper Canada.

Simcoe came to Niagara in the spring of 1792, accompanied by his noble wife, a woman worthy of such a man. She was a most accomplished lady and artist. Some of the earliest views extant of the town of Niagara, Navy Hall, the fort and other scenery, are the productions of her pencil.

The new Governor issued a proclamation from Kingston on his

way up, proclaiming the new Province, delimiting the electoral districts, and after his arrival at Niagara writs were issued for the election of representatives of the Assembly.

Simcoe was received at Niagara with universal welcome and royal honours. His old regiment, the Queen's Rangers, had been mostly settled on lands near Niagara, Butler's Rangers occupied the barracks in the town, and the 26th Cameronian Regiment, under Colonel Gordon, were in garrison at Fort Niagara.

The Governor disembarked at Niagara amid the firing of salutes from Fort Niagara, and on shore the regiments of regulars, Butler's Rangers and the militia received him with military pomp, while the magistracy and crowds of people from the town and country welcomed him with loyal addresses and cheers and shouts of welcome. The town was hung with flags, and the bands of the regiments made the air resound with martial music and the grand old tune of "God Save the King" as Simcoe and his lady stepped ashore, while the Six Nations and other Indians, headed by Captain Brant in gala costume, greeted the new Governor with yells of hearty joy and welcome.

Governor Simcoe was accompanied by a brilliant staff of officers. Major Littlehales, a gallant soldier, was his military secretary, and Lieut. Thomas Talbot, an officer of the Foot Guards, his aid-de-camp. This gentleman was afterwards the founder of the Talbot settlement on Lake Erie.

Governor Simcoe set about at once on the work of organizing the new government.

He issued a proclamation for the division of the Province of Upper Canada into nineteen counties, to be represented in the first Legislative Assembly by sixteen members. The Town of Niagara formed part of the 1st riding of the County of Lincoln.

The members of the Legislative Council consisted at first of eight members, who were called by writ of summons. He formed an executive council for advice in matters of government. The Hon. Wm. Osgood, afterwards Chief Justice, William Robertson; James Baby, Alexander Grant and Peter Russell formed the executive council.

The qualification of voters for the House of Assembly was, by the Imperial Act, the possession of a freehold on land held in fief of

the yearly value of forty shillings sterling, and the qualification for Members of Assembly was the possession of a dwelling house and lot of ground of the yearly value of five pounds sterling; with conditions of being British subjects, and not ministers or priests of either Protestant churches or of the Church of Rome.

The Governor, having arranged all the legal preliminaries, issued writs directed to the sheriffs of the counties for the election of Members of Assembly, while the Legislative Council was called by writs of appointment and summons. The new parliament was to meet at Niagara for the despatch of business on the seventeenth of September, 1792.

This proclamation was received with universal satisfaction by the people of the Province, who were fortunate in not having any party divisions among them. All were of one mind in the desire and resolution to select the best and most capable men in each county to represent them in the new parliament at Niagara. Messrs. Clench and Swayzie represented the Niagara District.

A new residence for the Governor had been ordered to be built before he left England. It was not quite finished on his arrival. It stood on the high sloping bank of the river on a spot afterwards covered by the rampart of Fort George. It overlooked Navy Hall. Some traces of the Governor's fish ponds may still be seen in the channel of a spring that issues out of the bank, but the site of the house is buried under the rampart. A large boulder on top indicates where the spot was where met the first parliament of Upper Canada.

This, being the largest house in the town, was selected for the meeting of parliament, but the weather at the time being extremely hot and sultry, many of the sittings were held in a large marquee set up in front of the house, which marquee was interesting as having been presented to Colonel Simcoe by the celebrated navigator, Captain Cook, who had used it in his voyages of discovery round the world.

CHAPTER XV.

1792.

THE seventeenth of September, 1792, was a joyous and ever memorable day in Niagara. It was glorious weather. The broad plains were green with grass, and the surrounding woods, then of a thick second-growth of oak, formed a natural screen to the level plain. In front of the woods stood the low, gnarled group of thorns—memorable in those days and since as the French thorns, the only memorial there of the French occupation. The bright little town with its wood and brick houses, each one in a garden of flowers, stood on the verge of the wide common. The broad river ran sweeping by in a majestic curve, and across it at half-a-mile of distance loomed up the high picketed bastions and white stone castle and blockhouses of Fort Niagara. The flag of England flaunted on its tall mast in the central area, and its guns looked out from their embrasures ready to make the welkin ring with the royal salute that was to celebrate the inauguration of the new parliament of Upper Canada.

The wide plains were early astir that morning. The Indians of the Six Nations had come down from the Grand River and encamped on the far side of the common, each nation—the Mohawks, Cayugas, Onondagas, Senecas, Oneidas and Tuscaroras—grouped by itself, under their own chiefs, with their women and children, all arrayed in Indian costume, and the men armed with rifle, spear and tomahawk. The Six Nations were commanded by the famous chiefs, Captain Joseph Brant and the Martins, Hills and others. The Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte were led by Chief John Deseronto, the bravest leader, perhaps, of the tribe in the Revolutionary war. A large band of Mississauguas was also present, and Chippawas from Sault St. Mary, from which place also came one of the most notable men of

the time—the great white trader and magistrate, Colonel Johnson, who had married the daughter of the head chief of all the Chippawas and was the most important personage in the northwest. A daughter of his, Charlotte Johnson, married the Rev. Wm. McMurray, Rector of Niagara. She is buried in St. Marks.

The officers—civil and military—merchants, traders and settlers, had gathered in crowds about the house on the river bank, which was to receive the new parliament. Great numbers of the men had donned their old uniforms of the Rangers and other loyal corps in honour of the occasion—men whose names and deeds are worth recording, but this would fill volumes, which, it is hoped, will one day be written by their descendants. All were in their best holiday attire. The men in the fashion of the times—in long coats and vests and knee breeches, with long stockings, gaiters or boots, with their hair in queues, surmounted by three-cornered hats, a fashion suited to brave men. The women in dresses high waisted, with tight sleeves, and bunched up behind over elaborate petticoats. Handsome women make any dress handsome.

There was Sir John Johnson, the son of Sir William; Colonel Claus and Guy Johnson; Colonel Butler, with his Rangers from the barracks; Major Rogers, the most active of partizan leaders in the late war, the same who had gone to take possession of Detroit when surrendered by the French in 1761; Colonel McKee from Detroit; Daniel and Jacob Servos of the Northern Confederate Indians and Butler's Rangers—the two latter in command with Captain Brant, had taken all the forts and dispersed their garrisons on the Schoharie. There was Samuel Street, afterwards the largest land owner and wealthiest man in Upper Canada—a man just and honourable in all his dealings. He and others filled the place of bankers in those days, when no banks had been established. Mr. Street's father had been murdered at Cold Springs, near Buffalo, and he being one of the most loyal of men took up his residence at Niagara Falls. Thomas Clark was a man like Street—rich, honourable and humane. When money was very scarce in Upper Canada Thomas Clark advanced General Drummond enough out of his private means to enable him to take the field and win the battle of Lundy's Lane.

The father of these two Servoses was a man of influence and

uncompromising loyalty, on the Charlotte River, near Schoharie, New York. General Washington sent a troop of dragoons to bring him off, dead or alive. He was living quietly in his house when it was surrounded in the night by the dragoons, who rushed in and proceeded to take him prisoner. He resisted arrest, and was shot dead on his hearth by Ellerson, one of the officers of the dragoons. This was a few months before his sons and Brant stormed the Schoharie forts, where some of the dragoons were stationed. They had their revenge.

Nearly the whole population of the Niagara District were out on that day, while many from remote parts of the Province had met here to celebrate the national event. A large flag staff had been erected, and the flag of Britain, which was that of the Province, floated in the breezes of Lake Ontario.

Guards of honour from the regular regiments, with bands and colours, formed their ranks to receive the Governor and escort him from Navy Hall to the temporary parliament house. He was received with wild, enthusiastic cheers and other demonstrations of joy, and a royal salute from the guns of Fort Niagara.

At noon the members of the two houses assembled in the Legislative Council Chamber. The proceedings were opened by the chaplain, (in full canonicals,) the Rev. Dr. Addison, with the customary prayers for the opening of parliament. A speaker for the Assembly was chosen—Captain John McDonell of Glengarry. Messrs. Clench and Swayzie represented the Niagara District. Captain John Law, an ex-officer in the Queen's Rangers, was Usher of the Black Rod. Chief Justice Osgood was speaker of the Legislative Council.

The Governor, in full uniform, was escorted to the House, and, all preliminaries being arranged, delivered his speech to the parliament. All was done in the old legal style of English procedure, of which he was a deep and consistent admirer.

His speech to the assembled legislators was completely in accord with their sentiments and ideas of government. They had been brought up in the forms and practice of English freedom as established by charters and enactments of the Crown. Those old colonial governments, in some respects not perfect, still embodied all the powers necessary for a free government, and which, but for the

infection of factious disloyalty from New England, would have been found sufficient for all purposes of rule and peaceful progression, with means of amendment whenever necessary.

The able men met at Niagara knew all this, and were proud of the opportunities of showing the world that a colonial constitution, on the model of that of England, was able to surpass in excellence and real usefulness all other political forms newly adopted in North America. Though monarchical in form, the free, flexible freedom of its practice, was far in advance of the rigid, written forms of a republic with a despotism at the heart and center of it in a ruler elected for a term of years, such a constitution as the United States had adopted only four years before.

CHAPTER XVI

1792.

THE opening speech of the Governor to the Legislative Council and Assembly was completely in accord with their loyal, patriotic ideas and sentiments, and was listened to with the greatest attention and respect. Said he:

"The wisdom and beneficence of our most gracious Sovereign and the British Parliament have been eminently proved, not only in imparting to us the same forms of government, but in securing the benefit of the many provisions which guard this memorable Act, so that the blessings of our invaluable constitution, thus protected and amplified, we hope will be extended to the remotest posterity. The great and momentous trusts and duties which have been committed to the Representatives of this Province, in a degree infinitely beyond whatever till this period have distinguished any other colony, have originated from the British nation upon a just consideration of the energy and hazard with which the inhabitants have so conspicuously supported and defended the British constitution."

These remarks and other no less patriotic sentences of the Governor's speech were received with the utmost satisfaction by the House and country. All present were British to the core, and were a satisfied and harmonious people, and proud to have obtained in reality what the Governor described in his speech at the close of the session: "The very image and transcript of the British constitution."

No printing press had yet been set up in the Province. The reporter for the press was yet non-existent. No record of the speeches of the clever men in parliament has come down to us. The minutes of the daily business are preserved. From the character and ability of the Representatives in general we know that our loss is great, as it is irreparable, in not having had handed down to us a report of the speeches and discussions in Parliament on the important subjects brought under their consideration.

By their deeds we know them—by the Acts they passed—which

were of such practical wisdom and usefulness as nothing could have been better or more timely. The members of the new Parliament showed by their work done and by the harmony of their proceedings that they were the equals of any body of legislators in the world.

The weather in the latter part of September was very hot and sultry. The most of the sittings of Parliament were held on the open common, under the great marquee of Captain Cook, in the presence daily of a concourse of the people, who took the most intense interest in the proceedings.

It reminded those read in English history of the early Law things and Wittenagemots of the Danish and Anglo-Saxon ancestors of the British people.

No American or French declarations of Rights of Man were thought of, or if thought of were despised by the fathers of Upper Canada. They knew that the British constitution and British laws were all sufficient to secure a nation's safety and welfare and the personal freedom and rights of every man. The frothy philosophy of Rousseau and the French revolutionists, and the no less presumptuous declarations of American Republicanism, had no place in constitutional Upper Canada.

The proof of the strength of the political edifice they reared, and of its suitability to freedom and prosperity, is found in the fact that the Parliaments of Ontario, Quebec and the Maritime Provinces, with the great Parliament of the whole Dominion, are all in form and essence similar to that constitution for Upper Canada established by Governor Simcoe under the Imperial Act of 1791, and these forms have secured the liberties and promoted the prosperity and happiness of all whose good fortune it was and is to live under them.

The first Act in the Statute Book of the first Parliament of Upper Canada was an Act to establish English law as the rule to govern the decisions of all matters of controversy relating to property and civil rights.

This was followed by the second Act, which established trial by jury in all issues of fact which shall be joined in any action—real, personal or mixed—in any of His Majesty's courts of justice within the Province. The right of trial by jury as it exists in England in criminal trials had already been established by the Quebec Act of 1763.

The third Act was one to establish the Winchester measure as a standard for weights and measures throughout the Province.

The fourth Act was one for the more easy and speedy recovery of small debts.

The fifth Act was for the building of a court house in every district of the Province.

The above were all the Acts passed at the first session of Parliament, 1792. The Houses sat until the 15th October, when they were formally prorogued by the Governor in accordance with English precedent. In his speech he warmly congratulated the Parliament on their good beginning in legislation, and on the fidelity and loyalty of their proceedings in carrying out the true principles of parliament in this, a very image and transcript of the British constitution.

After the close of the session, Simcoe had many and important duties to attend to. The threatening renewals of Indian hostility against the United States and the new declaration of war against England by the French Republic, imposed a pressing necessity of keeping the peace, if possible, in the western territories. A large party, led by Jefferson, in the States, were for an alliance with France and the renewal of war with England. The times seemed critical indeed, and Simcoe, as we learn from his letters of the time, was strongly of opinion that war with the United States was inevitable. The retention of the western posts and the alleged intention of England to keep hold of the western territory were the excuses for war. But England had no such designs. She called again and again on the United States to fulfill the articles of the Treaty of Peace of 1783 with respect to the confiscated property of the expelled Loyalists and the debts due them. These being done, the western posts would be given up.

President Washington was in favour of peace and a settlement of complaints. He was denounced by the Democratic leaders and their followers on all sides, but he held on to his policy of peace with England and sent a special deputation of three commissioners—General Lincoln, Hon. Timothy Pickering and Beverly Randolph—whom he had appointed to go to the western territory to meet the Indians in council at Miami.

Two American Commissioners arrived at Niagara in May—

General Lincoln in June—and were received with the utmost courtesy and hospitality by Governor Simcoe. They had come to ask his influence and help in arranging peace with the Indians. The two American commissioners were at Niagara until the arrival of General Lincoln, who did not join them until later. Dinners in their honour and a grand ball were given at Navy Hall. The beauty, refinement and elegant dresses of the ladies were the subject of eulogium by the guests. On the fourth of June, the King's birthday, a grand review of the regular troops and militia was held on the common. The eyes of the visitors were opened very wide at the sight of the discipline of the troops and the enthusiastic loyalty of the people.

Simcoe gave them assurance of his desire for peace with the Indians, and deputed Colonel Butler, Captain Brant and Lieut. Talbot, his aide-de-camp, and also sent instructions to Colonels McKee and Elliot of Detroit, to attend the council at Miami and aid in establishing peace.

The sympathies of the people of Upper Canada were with the western tribes, who had by a false treaty been cheated out of their rights in the Ohio country. Nevertheless, Simcoe, in obedience to his instructions, sincerely endeavoured to obtain peace.

The great council was held in the fall of 1792, at which were present thirty tribes and nations of Indians, the American commissioners, and a number of Quakers, who posed as special protectors of the Indians, but in reality were as effective in depriving them of their lands as any professional politician in Congress. Colonels Butler, McKee and Elliot, with Captain Brant, took no open part in the council, but by interviews and persuasions with the chiefs did their utmost to conciliate them to a peace. But peace was impossible on the terms offered by the United States. The Indians demanded the withdrawal of the Americans from the country north of the Ohio River. It was not and could not be granted. The council, finally, after some months of talk, broke up without accomplishing anything, and the ownership of the Indian territory was left to be fought for in the fifteen years that followed.

The settlement of Upper Canada went on continuously. A stream of people from the former colonies, consisting of loyalists who had not been able to join the first wave of emigration—men less

ardent, perhaps, but who preferred British law and institutions. There were also new comers of another class and of less desirable antecedents—men who had not been loyal in the revolution, and some who had actually borne arms in the Rebel army. The Indian wars in their own western territory made settlement there dangerous, and industry impossible to farmers. The fertile lands of Upper Canada were open, safe and easily obtainable. Therefore among the later immigrants was a considerable sprinkling of men embued with hatred of British rule, and full of prejudices in favour of Republican government.

These men took up land and formed the nucleus of a disloyal element that made itself felt for a considerable time. They were numerous enough to make discontent, but too few to count for much among the mass of loyal people who formed the bulk of the population. At the same time, it is but justice to say that the majority of these Americans became, in time, good subjects and did their duty as such in the subsequent war, which brought a blessing by weeding out the bad elements which had crept into the Province.

The town of Newark, as Niagara was now renamed, received a number of new settlers of English and Scotch extractions, and from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Large mercantile firms of Quebec and Montreal established branches in Newark, at that period being the only town in Upper Canada, and which supplied the whole Province with goods and merchandise. The new capital prospered greatly in those days.

The immigration of Loyalist Americans into Canada has never yet wholly ceased, for there remained in the United States families which never in heart gave up their attachment to the Crown and Empire of Great Britain. One instance I will record: "The writer of these Annals was travelling on the steamer *Transit* to Toronto in the summer of 1839, when he fell into conversation with a respectable family of Americans—an elderly father and mother, two grown up sons and two daughters and the wife of one of the sons. The father, an intelligent man of most respectable appearance, informed me they were from Connecticut, and were on their way to settle on land they had bought north of Toronto. That they were an old Loyalist family, members of the Church of England, who had never omitted the daily prayers

of that church for the King and Queen of England as their lawful sovereigns. They had at length resolved to sell their property in Connecticut and come to the Queen's Dominion and live, as it was their hearts' desire, under the British flag and Crown in Upper Canada."

The writer has often since regretted that he did not ask the name of this family, or precisely where they were going. It did not strike him at the time as forcibly as it did afterwards, when he heard of other similar occurrences.

CHAPTER XVII.

1792.

THE second session of the first Parliament was opened by Governor Simcoe on the 31st May, 1793. The legislature met in the new government house, built on the site of the present court house, on Queen street. It was a large, handsome edifice of wood, containing the chambers of the Legislative Council and Assembly, with all the offices necessary for their use, and for the civil and executive officers of the Government. A guard house stood near the entrance, where a guard of soldiers from the regiments in garrison kept watch, more in honour than for need. The Governor's House was finished on the bank, overlooking Navy Hall. The Governor's fish ponds, fed by a spring that gushed out of the river bank, may still be traced. The channel is now filled with water cresses, but enough remains to show the site of that interesting spot.

The second session was more numerously attended than the first. It was opened with royal salutes and military and civic display. War had just been declared by the French Republic against Great Britain, and great interest was manifested on the subject, as it seemed probable that the United States would join France in an allied war against Britain.

The Governor in his opening speech recommended the remodelling of the militia for the better defence of the Province. In his speech he remarked:—

"It is with great satisfaction that I am able to communicate to you that the insidious attempts of those who envy the prosperity of the British nation, or are avowedly disaffected to the principles of its constitution, have been completely counteracted and defeated by the wisdom of His Majesty's Councils and by the affectionate attachment and spirited resolves of all classes and descriptions of His Majesty's subjects. It is manifest that upon this important occasion Britons have acted with that unanimity and loyalty which might be expected from men who know how to estimate the vain

assumption of innovators; and from the virtue, the wisdom, the struggles and experiences of their ancestors inherit those civil and religious blessings which are derived under a free constitution, equally abhorrent of absolute monarchy, arbitrary aristocracy or tyrannical democracy."

The Governor spoke earnestly and to willing hearers. Those principles which he propounded fell like dew upon the tender grass. Their hearts had been all attuned to the Governor's sentiments. Not a single note of discord or disagreement was heard in the Legislative Chambers, and Parliament went with good will to consider the matters laid before them.

The American Commissioners, now joined by General Lincoln, were present at the opening of this Parliament, and were vividly reminded of old times in the colonies whence they came before the flood of democratic tyranny and republican forms swept over the face of their country.

The brief summary of the Acts of the second session of this Parliament will show the practical wisdom of their measures.

The first Act they placed on the statute book was one for the better regulation of the militia, a matter at that time of great interest and importance.

The second Act was to regulate the nominations of parish and town officers. At that time the office of churchwarden was one of the municipal officers elected in town meeting.

The third Act was to authorize and direct the laying of assessments and rates in every district.

The fourth Act was one for laying out and keeping in repair the public highways in the Province.

The fifth Act was to confirm and make valid certain marriages heretofore contracted in the Province. Previous to this magistrates and military commandants had been empowered to marry. The absence of clergymen rendered such power necessary.

The sixth Act was to fix the times and places for holding the courts of general quarter sessions of the peace within the several districts of the Province.

The seventh Act was to prevent the further introduction of slaves and to limit the term of contracts for servitude within the Province. The Act did not disturb the ownership of slaves before the passage

of the Act, but ordered that every child born of a negro mother should remain with and be supported by her master until the child attained the age of twenty-five years, and then be discharged free from all obligation of further servitude.

This Act in an easy and humane way provided for the gradual extinction of slavery in Upper Canada. A great number of negro slaves had followed the fortunes of their Loyalist owners, and willingly remained attached to their families. Slavery had been and was yet a lawful institution in all the United States, but the Parliament of Upper Canada was the first of any which enacted laws for their emancipation and for placing them in the possession of the rights of free men and British subjects, the same as was enjoyed by the white race in Upper Canada. This Act in a few years led to the complete abolition of slavery in the Province. Many descendants of this class of early settlers in the Province are still to be found—a happy, contented and loyal portion of our people.

The progress and settlement of the country went on unceasingly. Many immigrants began to arrive from Great Britain and Ireland. Fort Niagara and the military stationed at Newark, with the increasing population of the town, required large supplies of food, which the farmers now began to bring in, and a market was formed for their convenience.

The eighth Act of the second session was to establish a court of probate in the Province and a surrogate court in every district.

The ninth Act was to authorize the Lt.-Governor to nominate certain commissioners of inquiry.

The tenth Act was for the payment of the salaries of the members of the Legislative Council and Assembly.

The eleventh Act was to encourage the destroying of wolves and bears in different parts of the Province.

The second session of this Parliament was prorogued on the ninth of July, 1793. Governor Simcoe in an eloquent speech congratulated the members on the good work they had done, and on the general prosperity of the Province.

The third session of this Parliament met at Newark on the second of June, 1794.

Its principal Acts were: One for the regulation of juries.

Also, an Act to establish a superior court of criminal jurisdiction and to regulate the court of appeal.

An Act for licensing public houses, and some minor but useful Acts were passed in this session.

The third session was prorogued on the 9th July following, by Governor Simcoe.

The fourth session of Parliament met at Newark on the sixth July, 1795.

It passed some useful measures, among them an Act for the public registering of deeds, wills and other encumbrances upon lands.

This session was prorogued on the 10th August, by Governor Simcoe.

The fifth session of Parliament was held at Newark, on the 10th May, 1796.

It passed an Act for the better regulation of coins current in this Province.

It may be observed that the currency mostly in use was the York currency of two dollars and-a-half to the pound, and eight York shillings of 12½ cents each to the dollar. There was also Halifax currency of four dollars to the pound, and five shillings of twenty cents each to the dollar, while many, including the military, kept accounts in sterling money—guineas of 21 shillings and pounds of 20 shillings sterling.

The money in circulation was English and Spanish gold coins, and Spanish silver dollars, quarters, York shillings and sixpences, with a medley of copper halfpence. Much trading was done by way of barter of farm produce and skins for goods.

But accounts generally in the Province continued to be kept in York currency until about 1820, when Halifax currency was mostly used. In about 1850 dollars and cents began to be generally in use.

Some other Acts, not of especial interest, were passed at this session, which was destined to be the last held in the Town of Newark. The seat of Government was moved to York, now Toronto, and Newark suffered an eclipse which dimmed the rising prospects of the town.

Five sessions of Parliament were held in Newark. The free English constitution and common law were firmly settled in the

affections and willing obedience of the people. The primary fundamental laws for the existence and prosperity of the Province were established. Upper Canada was henceforth the mistress of her own destinies, and a proud member of the British Empire, endowed with greater liberties and freer institutions than any colony had enjoyed before her.

The American Commissioners who came to Newark endeavoured vainly to persuade Simcoe to declare openly against the claims of the Western Indians, but the policy of his government was neutrality. Three prominent Quakers of Philadelphia—Parish, Elliot and Savary—had been deputed to accompany the commissioners as special friends of the Indians, but in Simcoe's opinion, who knew the men, to cajole the Indians out of their lands, as Wayne threatened to take them by force. The Indians were shrewd enough to see through these professed pious friends, and would not allow their presence before a treaty was made.

Simcoe, writing to Colonel McKee, said:

"I am very glad the Quakers are not permitted to visit the Indians before the treaty. Parish, Elliot and Savary were rebels during the war and are hypocrites now, for should it be asked of them: 'With all your pretentions to love of peace and humanity, should it be clearly proved that the Indians have been cheated and persecuted, and that the treaties that have been produced are evidently fraudulent. If these things are so, what would be your conduct?' I am confident the answer would be: 'Sell your lands or you must be extirpated.'"

The American Commissioner Timothy Pickering requited badly Simcoe's hospitality. The Governor, writing to Colonel McKee from Navy Hall, Nov. 1, 1794, remarks:

"Colonel Pickering is holding a council at Canandaigua. Mr. Johnson went at the request of the chiefs of the Six Nations, but Pickering insisted upon his leaving the place, and not without threats, and in a long inflammatory invective against Great Britain of four or five hours, written for the occasion, but which he terms extempore, has done his best to set the minds of the Indians against His Majesty's subjects."

During the last two or three years of his administration the attention of Simcoe was greatly taken up with the general Indian war in the western territory of the United States. There was a continual risk of the Province becoming involved in it, but the Governor's watchfulness and tact enabled him to preserve his attitude of

neutrality, although his forbearance was sorely tried by the annoyance and threats of General Wayne, who, after he had defeated the Shawnese in 1794, declared his intention to attack Detroit and the other British posts in the west. He was hardly to be restrained by his own government and the more prudent counsels of President Washington, who advised the mad General to keep the peace. Simcoe was compelled, however, to prepare for any eventualities by fully organizing the militia and strengthening the garrisons on the frontier.

The Democratic party, under the lead of Jefferson and Madison, were wholly in sympathy with the French revolution. They adopted all the cries and so-called principles of "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality," and even the extravagant dress and symbols of the Sans Culottes of Paris.

They defended the conduct of the French Minister Genest in fitting out French privateers, manned by Yankee crews, to prey upon British commerce, while Washington and the party of Federalists were subject to the most scurrilous abuse ever heaped upon statesmen.

The people of Upper Canada were at this time excited by the report of a scheme of invasion by the French and Spaniards, who were to join their forces in Louisiana, and, gathering up all the Indians they could get to follow them, were to proceed by the northern route of the Mississippi, cross Michigan and enter the Province in great force on the Georgian Bay. Simcoe was accurately informed of all the designs of the enemy. It failed, however, to come to a head. President Washington would not allow a French army to pass through American territory. Of course Jefferson and the Democrats were wildly in favour of it. On its defeat they fell foul with all their might of abuse against Washington and the Federalists. Simcoe had the satisfaction of seeing this scheme of invasion frustrated by the strife of political parties in the United States.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1796.

THE attention of Governor Simcoe had been directed, almost from his arrival in the Province, to the selection of a proper site for the Capital of Upper Canada. The situation of the Town of Newark, lying within range of the guns of Fort Niagara—by treaty of 1783 ceded to the United States—seemed a strong objection against its remaining permanently the seat of government. That such a cession would eventually be made was certain, and seemed inevitable when John Jay concluded a new treaty between Britain and the United States, in which he promised that the claims of the Loyalists to lands and debts owing them should be satisfied, and all other complaints mutually heard and adjudicated upon.

It is well known that Jay's treaty was evaded, but in the meantime it induced the British Government to abandon the western posts and to deliver up Fort Niagara to the United States.

In 1793 Governor Simcoe went up over land to Detroit, with a view of selecting a site for the future capital. He was greatly impressed with the country on the Thames, and seemed to have serious intentions of selecting the present site of London, for at that time it seemed as if the British occupation of the territory of Michigan would be permanent, in which case London would be a central position.

When he returned to Newark he found that in all probability Michigan would be ceded to the Americans, in which case London would lose its advantage. He therefore decided to select a site on the northern shore of Ontario, and fixed on what is now the site of Toronto for the capital city of the Province.

The large, sheltered bay and fertile country behind it seemed formed by nature for the site of a large city. The spot was an

unbroken wilderness. The bay, protected by a long peninsula, swarmed with wild fowls. A few wigwams of Mississauguas stood on the beach—the only sign of human habitation. The low, sandy peninsula was covered with trees, and hardly raised itself above the level of the water. Its name in the Mohawk tongue was Karonto or Toronto—"Trees in the Water,"—for so its appearance struck the voyagers in canoes who passed up or down the lake shore in warlike expeditions against the Northern Hurons. This had been a war and trade route. The French Government had once established a small fort, called Fort Rouille, on the bay, whence a trade route passed through the forest to Lake Toronto, now Lake Simcoe.

The site of Toronto was surveyed by Augustus Jones, by order of Governor Simcoe, and in 1793 the first move was made for the settlement of Toronto, by the despatch of a portion of the regiment of Queen's Rangers from Newark, with tents and stores, to Toronto.

The first division of the Rangers left Newark in the month of July in boats, which passed round the head of the Lake. The second division left Newark on board the King's ships, and on the 30th July the Governor himself went over on board the *Mississaugua*. Their tents were ready pitched in the woods on the arrival of the latter detachment. The Governor himself occupied the marquee presented to him by Captain Cook. He remained at Toronto all summer and the following winter, surveying and laying out roads and streets for the future city, which he was to call York in honour of the Duke of York.

The wild state of the new settlement of York is well described in a letter which his aide-de-camp, Lieut. Talbot, the founder afterwards of the Talbot settlement on Lake Erie, wrote to Colonel McKee from York, Sept. 9, 1793. Lieut. Talbot writes:

"I arrived at this place on the 5th inst., where Col. Simcoe and the Queen's Rangers are encamped and preparing huts for the winter. The foot of the rapids of the Maumee is quite London to this spot. However, I fear it will be my fate to pass some months with them. There is a most magnificent city laid out, which is to begin in the spring."

York grew slowly for the first few years, and, in spite of its advantages, did not for a long time divert the trade and influence of Newark. The Governor was always active in every sort of good public work to promote the welfare of Newark and the district.

In 1793 the Governor was active in the formation of an Agricultural Association, to the funds of which he subscribed ten guineas yearly. The object was good and no doubt useful in encouraging the improvement of land cultivation and of stock, but no record is found of their proceedings or mention made of exhibitions held, though doubtless such there were on a small scale, for the settlers were as yet too much engaged in the arduous work of clearing the forest to have time to attend to higher farming. But one thing the members of the association did, no doubt satisfactorily. Their rules provided for a monthly meeting to be held and a dinner to be partaken of—a convivial one of course—and at which the talk of the members would not be wholly of oxen. This agricultural dinner was an interesting monthly event which was kept up during Simcoe's administration at Newark.

There were a large number of Free Masons among the military and the settlers in Newark. A Masonic lodge was early established in the town, which embraced in its membership Governor Simcoe and most of the officers of government, Captain Joseph Brant, Dr. John Kerr, Colonel Butler, Captain Daniel Servos, Rev. Dr. Addison, and many others. The first lodge was built near the landing. Afterwards it was moved to other quarters up town. The Masonic lodge was always a prominent institution in Newark.

The lake trade tended much towards Newark, where schooners were built, which plied to York and Kingston. The Hon. James Crooks built a vessel and made the first shipment of wheat from Newark to Montreal in 1799.

Simcoe, in order to improve the organization of the militia, introduced into Upper Canada the office of Lieutenant of Counties, an office held in England by a gentleman or nobleman of loyalty and distinction as military deputy of the King for the government of the militia in their respective counties.

On the division of the counties or ridings, Simcoe appointed a Lieutenant in each, whose duty was the delimitation of the militia districts, with a general oversight and power of recommendation of officers to the command of the militia force. Simcoe's views on this subject are found in a letter he wrote to Col. Alex. McKee on his appointment to the office of Lieutenant of Essex County, as follows:

"It may not be improper to observe that this high office under the constitution of Great Britain is generally conferred upon the persons who seem most respectable to His Majesty's Government, for their property, loyalty, abilities and discretion in their several counties, and from a combination of such possessions and qualities acquire that weight, respect and public confidence which render them the natural support of constitutional authority.

"If, on the one hand, this office has been at all times bestowed by the Sovereign with the circumspection and caution due to the important trusts which it involves,—on the other, it has been a principal object of honourable ambition, which the British constitution approves, in the first men of the state, making a due provision of power for that loyal aristocracy which the experience of ages has proved necessary to the balance and permanency of her inestimable form of government."

The office of Lieutenants of Counties does not seem to have suited the conditions of the new country, and it did not last long. The granting of commissions in the militia was preferred to be vested directly in the Crown, without the intermediation of a Lieutenant of Counties. In this only did Simcoe's plan fail of success, in the development of the militia of the Province.

The finding a nomenclature for the counties and townships of Upper Canada was a work of love for Governor Simcoe, and at once simple and intelligible. After naming each of the counties after an English or Scotch county, the names of towns included in each English or Scotch county were given to the townships within that county.' The name of the County of Lincoln was given to the Niagara District in its three ridings, and the name of each township of its sub-division was the name of a town within the English county of that name. The townships of the County of Lincoln were therefore called respectively: Newark, Grantham, Louth, Clinton, Grimsby, Caistor, Gainsboro, Stamford, Thorold, Willoughby, Crowland, Bertie.

The County of York was sub-divided and named on the same principle. Each township received the name of a Yorkshire town. The other counties, such as Norfolk, Middlesex, Kent, Essex, Durham and Northumberland, received names in that way, so that the name of a township as originally given indicates the name of the county in which it is situated, and *vice versa*.

These names still form chains of association sweet in harmony

with patriotic memories of our motherland, and strong as cables of steel—a wall of fire on the frontier of our dear Canada.

The original name of Niagara Township had been changed by Simcoe to Newark, but the older name kept its ground and it was in time changed back to Niagara. This is the only exception to the naming of townships by Governor Simcoe—other than this all retain to this day the names he gave them.

A steady stream of settlers was directed to the north side of Lake Ontario after the selection of York as the future capital, and it began to attract trade and people of wealth and education.

In 1795 a sad event occurred in the family of the great chief, Captain Joseph Brant, a man of high principle and religious habits. His eldest son, Isaac, had been reared with care and educated in Newark, and had been employed as private secretary by the chief. The business of the Six Nations was very great, and the chief hoped to bring his son up in habits of order and industry. Isaac Brant, however, was naturally of a savage, morose disposition and was given to much intoxication, and when in that state was murderous in his disposition. He had committed a murder in the Six Nations, which was hushed up. He got a crazy fancy that his father was not giving him all the property he wanted, and often threatened he would kill him. One day at Burlington, where the chief and other Indians had met on business, Isaac got intoxicated and attempted to kill him, wounding him, when the chief, in self-defence, drew his short sword and struck his son on the head, so that he died from the effects of the wound in a few days. This event filled the old chief with grief inconsolable. He resigned the public offices he held from the government and practically retired into private life. He died at Burlington, 24th Nov., 1807, and was buried at Brantford.

Newark held its ground for several years as the chief emporium. The great portage from Queenston to Chippawa necessarily continued to be the main route for the trade of the west, and the large mercantile houses of Montreal continued to hold their branches and agencies in Newark until the construction of the Welland Canal diverted that trade from the Niagara River to the new Town of St. Catharines.

CHAPTER XIX.

1796.

THE promotion of the religious and moral interests of the people of Newark was not neglected amid the cares of a new settlement. The arrival of the Rev. Dr. Addison in 1792 placed the members of the Church of England in the possession of the regular services of their communion. The Rev. Dr. Addison's ministrations extended to all parts of the district, and he was indefatigable in their discharge. The parish of Niagara was organized largely with the assistance of Colonel John Butler, through whose endeavours the Rev. Dr. Addison had been sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

The congregation, a large one, met for a few years in the large Indian council house, but in 1804 the church of St. Marks was built, a stone edifice in English style, in Niagara.

An old Indian burying ground had occupied the front part, opposite the river, of the ground taken up for the church yard of St. Marks. An old sandstone slab, rudely engraved with the name of "Leonard Blank, deceased, 5 Aug., 1782," afterwards taken up and placed in the church porch, indicated where the Indian graveyard was before St. Marks was laid out.

The great majority of the people belonged to the Church of England, as was natural under the circumstances in which they left the old colonies, but there were also a number of loyal Presbyterians in the town, chiefly of Scottish birth or descent, who met together and formed a congregation in 1794. They met at Hind's hotel, 30th Sept., 1794, and passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, That as religion is the foundation of all societies, and which cannot be so strictly adhered to without having a place dedicated solely to divine purposes, that a Presbyterian church should be erected in the town of Newark, and that subscriptions for that purpose be immediately set on foot, as well as for the support of a clergyman of the same persuasion."

The committee consisted of John Young, Four Mile Creek ; Ralfe Clench, Andrew Heron, Robt. Kerr, Alex. Gardiner, William McLelland and Alex. Hemphill.

The congregation succeeded, in 1796, in building a church of wood on the site of their present church. The Rev. John Dunn was the first Presbyterian clergyman. Many more interesting details of the Presbyterian church and congregation are found in that interesting account, by Miss Janet Carnochan of Niagara, of "Two Frontier Churches," published in 1890.

The Church of England and Presbyterians composed the bulk of religious people in Newark. The Methodists had not appeared there yet. A band of loyal Methodists had immigrated to the Bay of Quinte. Congregationalists were not found among the Loyalists. They were rebels generally, in New England and elsewhere. None came to Newark.

It was a pleasant feature of religious feeling at that time in Niagara that Episcopalians assisted in the building of the Presbyterian church, while Presbyterians helped to build the Episcopalian church, while the few Roman Catholics in Newark attended service at St. Marks and were buried in its churchyard, before they had a place of worship of their own, as a number of old gravestones bear evidence.

A grant of land of four acres by the government for a rectory and churchyard was, in 1794, made to the congregation of St. Marks. A similar grant of the same amount of land was made to the Presbyterians, and subsequently a like grant of four acres was made to the Roman Catholics, for the same purpose.

Colonel John Butler, whose estate lay contiguous to the town, had already devoted a plot of ground in his farm for the purpose of a family and public cemetery. It was largely used for the interments of members of his Rangers, many of whom lie there. Colonel Butler, who died in May, 1796, and his wife, were buried there, but no stone marks the grave of the loyal old commander. His sons' bodies, and those of others of his family were buried there, and memorial slabs lie over their graves. Gallant old Judge Clench, a man of four score, who rose from a sick bed to fight for Brock at Queenston, has a tomb there. The Claus family had a stately vault. In it were buried the

widow of Daniel Claus, deputy-superintendent of the Indian department, Colonel William Claus and others of his family; Caroline, wife of Major Richardson, the Canadian military officer and clever writer, and many others of the early times in Niagara before the churchyard of St. Marks was laid out for interments.

That old, sacred spot—the earliest cemetery probably in Upper Canada—now lies utterly abandoned and almost forgotten. Two neighbouring farmers who now own the Butler estate have run a fence through the middle of the cemetery and exposed all its contents of graves and memorials to the tread of cattle, and worse, to the ravage of the plough. It is the greatest disgrace these Annals have to record of Niagara.

As an immediate consequence to Jay's treaty and the giving up of Fort Niagara, Governor Simcoe, in 1795, commenced the building of Fort George, a large military work of some ten acres of ground on the bank of the river. It was constructed with deep ditches, picketted, high ramparts and bastions at the angles, with spacious barracks, magazines and other suitable buildings inside. Its main gate faced to the northwest. It was in all respects a strong fort.

The construction of Fort George necessitated the pulling down of the Governor's new mansion—the scene of the meeting of the first Parliament—which is now covered by the high rampart facing the river. A large boulder on top of the rampart, facing the river, marks the spot where beneath it stood the residence of Governor Simcoe and the place where met the first Parliament of Upper Canada.

In 1796 the transfer of the British garrison from Fort Niagara to Fort George was made. The guns and all other property, the store, and, most of all, the flag of England, came and was re-hoisted on Fort George. Fort Niagara was then given up to the United States, which came into possession of it for the first time.

The giving up of Fort Niagara was not deeply regretted by the inhabitants of Newark. Except as a matter of sentiment it did not injure them, but rather benefited them by concentrating all their trade and labour in the one town, and not dividing it into two parts with the river between. It moreover brought the whole of the troops together at Fort George and Butler's Barracks, and so far helped to

increase the local advantages arising out of the presence of a large body of soldiers, and made up for the loss of the Queen's Rangers, who had been stationed at Toronto.

Governor Simcoe remained in residence at Newark until the appointment of the Hon. Peter Russell as his successor, and on the 4th Nov., 1796, the Official Gazette announced that on the 3rd His Honour Peter Russell sailed on the *Mohawk* for York, to assume the duties of President. He was saluted by the cannon of Fort George, which were answered by three cheers from the people on board. This event closed the period of Newark's tenure of the position of Capital of Upper Canada, and York—now Toronto—became the metropolis.

Governor Simcoe was recalled to England at the close of the last session of the first Parliament, in 1796. His great civil and military abilities were fully acknowledged by the King. In the war then raging between France and Great Britain, Simcoe was appointed to the government of the Island of St. Domingo, then just conquered by the British arms. It is not within the scope of these annals to follow his further career, but all eyes and hearts ever went with him from the people of Upper Canada as the father of their country.

Simcoe stayed not over a year in St. Domingo. He returned to England and lived the life of a country gentleman on his fine paternal estate in Devonshire. His abilities were so highly appreciated by the government that in 1806 he, conjointly with Admiral Lord St. Vincent, was sent on a mission to Lisbon, to be followed by an army of British troops, to protect Portugal against a powerful French invasion that threatened that kingdom, but unhappily Simcoe fell sick on board the ship and was taken back to England, where he died at his home, 25th October, 1806. He was buried under a stately monument in Exeter Cathedral. An Indian and a soldier of the Queen's Rangers support his bust on the monument, which bears the following inscriptions:—

"Sacred to the Memory of John Graves Simcoe, Lieutenant-General in the Army and Colonel of the 22nd Regiment of Foot, who died on the 25th day of October, 1806, aged 54 years, in whose life and character the virtues of the hero, the patriot and the Christian, were so conspicuous that it may be justly said: He served his King and country with a zeal exceeded only by his piety towards God."

Newark and the District of Niagara had grown populous and rich in natural products—enough to use and enough to spare—during the wise and prudent administration of Simcoe. The town numbered, exclusive of the military, some twelve hundred persons. Society was enlightened and harmonious—rather convivial—but that was the fashion of the times. All were content and happy. The town did not suffer very perceptibly by the removal of the Parliament. It was still the seat of all local government of the immense District of Niagara or Lincoln, with its three ridings. The law courts were there established and held. A court house and gaol were built—the former near the Government house on the market square, the latter on the northwest corner of King and Prideaux street. Quarter Sessions, attended by the chairman and magistrates of the district, sat regularly and transacted criminal and civil business. The magistrates in sessions passed on public accounts and laid rates for the opening and maintenance of highways, the building and repair of bridges, for the cost of administration of justice in the district, and the appointment of constables and bailiffs. These powers were held and ably and usefully executed by the magistrates in General Sessions. Taxes were very light, for prudence and economy were the characteristics of the times. The public business was honourably and economically transacted, and people were content. The political agitator had not yet found his way to Newark, and people, who were left to their own common sense and good feeling, rather commended than challenged or hastily criticised the actions of the officials appointed to govern the country and administer the law.

The important subject of the education of their children received due attention in Newark and the country generally. No public school system was yet established, but good private schools were opened in Newark by competent schoolmasters, and a plain English education could be obtained at a cheap rate, while the richer class used to send their boys to Montreal, and some to England, even, for education.

In these early schools it was a special feature that behaviour and manners, as they were called, were considered by the parents of as much importance as instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic, and the practice of manners was strictly enforced in the

common schools. Any person, stranger or not, passing by the schools, if the children happened to be out at play, was sure to be most politely saluted by the boys with doffed hats, and by the girls with a modest, respectful courtsey, and never with a look or word of rudeness. Such were the first lessons taught to the children in the common schools of Upper Canada. Any change since those days in that respect has not been for the better.

The customs of the times were free and social. The people were by nature and training temperate, yet bountiful in their living. No legal restraint existed on the sale or use of intoxicating liquors. Much wine and rum were used in common life—not often to excess—but without much censure if it was. The tavern was the usual resort for news and meetings of any sort. The blacksmith shop and store were also frequented by anyone wanting to hear or tell what was going on at home or abroad. The fourth of June, the King's birthday, was the grand holiday of the year, when the men from the whole country came down to militia training on Niagara Common. After training came athletic sports, eating and drinking—the last especially—and if a man drank too much on that day the fault was forgiven, for all participated in drinking the health of the King and of each other. No agitators tried to stir up strife or evil passions among them, and even in their disputes the people continued fast friends, and if they fought on training day shook hands after it, and not a grain of ill feeling remained in their bosoms.

The news of Britain's victories by land and sea over her enemies was what they delighted most to hear, and the war with France supplied the main topics of this time. They heard, too, of Shay's Rebellion in Pennsylvania against the tax on whiskey laid by Washington's Government and Congress, and contrasted their own peace and freedom from political broils with the unceasing turmoil in the United States, where no government seemed able to govern a naturally disputatious people: where Democrats and Federalists denounced each other as unworthy to live, and General Washington, as President, was by the Democrats held up to public odium, and by that ungrateful faction pronounced all but a traitor to the new republic.

CHAPTER XX.

1797.

THE administration of the Hon. Peter Russell, who succeeded Simcoe, was not remarkable for anything out of the routine of ordinary affairs. He opened the second Parliament at York on the 1st June, 1797, and prorogued it on the 3rd July following. York was yet only a row or two of unpretentious houses, a Government house and House of Assembly, but, laid out on Simcoe's plans, it had the promise and potency of a large city. Niagara had contributed the most of its population, and to it York owed its first beginnings.

The first session of the second Parliament passed some useful legislation. They passed an Act for the further extension of the criminal law of England, with a provision for substituting banishment from the Province in lieu of sentences to transportation, as by the English law. By this Act persons convicted of felony and other offences incurring the penalty of transportation were banished out of the country, and sent, practically, to the United States as the most convenient foreign country, and nearest to Canada. The Loyalists thought, perhaps, that was the worst place and the worst punishment could be inflicted short of death.

Many sentences were carried out under this statute, and indeed the fear of banishment may have operated as a deterrent to the evil disposed, most of whom had come from that country. This law continued, in a modified form, in force for a number of years.

A few years after the conquest of Canada in 1759, the Seneca Nation in Council made a gift to Sir William Johnson of the whole east bank of the Niagara River, from Buffalo Creek to Fort Niagara, with all the islands in the river. This possession was confiscated with the rest of Sir William's property, at the revolution. Of the islands only Navy Island was retained by his heir, Sir John Johnson, and for some now unknown reason the Hon. Peter Russell, Adminis-

trator of Upper Canada, refused to confirm the old grant of Navy Island. Sir John complains of this unjust action of the Administrator in a letter, which I append. Sir John submitted to the loss with more carelessness than was to have been expected from a man of his disposition. Navy Island is situated two miles above the cataract, and consists of about six hundred acres of land, then without any value. Sir John writes:

MONTREAL, 15th Oct., 1808.

To Col. Claus:

I wish Kerr to renew the leases that Mr. Russell destroyed, for which I believe an action would have lain against him had I thought proper. But possession will now be pleaded in favour of the claim which I wish Dickson would try to dispose of. I shall try with some of the Boston gentlemen frequenting this place. Navy Island I think I should obtain a grant of from the government, as it stands on record given to my father at the time he made peace with the Senecas, etc., and purchased the carrying place and all the lands you now live on at Niagara—which is rather hard after the sacrifice I made, which they can never repay me for, and the length of my services, which I date back to the first action I was in at Lake George with my father, in September, 1755, which saved America, and for which he was made a baronet by the late King, and presented by parliament with £5000 (sterling).

Those things are now forgotten in the loss of that country and the princely fortune we lost with it.

Your afft. brother-in-law,
JOHN JOHNSON.

The Hon. Peter Russell was succeeded by the Hon. Peter Hunter, who opened the third Parliament at York on the 28th May, 1801, and prorogued it on the 9th July following.

Important amendments were made to the militia laws and in regard to the quarter sessions of the peace, and other matters relating to the administration of justice.

The second session of the third Parliament was opened at York by Lt.-Governor Hunter on the 25th May, 1802, and prorogued on the 7th July following. The Acts passed at this session were not of great importance, except one for enabling the Governor to authorize additional ports and places of entry for the importation of goods. This showed a gratifying increase in the trade of the Province, and the need of increased facilities for it.

The third session of the third Parliament was opened at York

by Governor Hunter on the 24th January, 1803, and prorogued on the 5th March following.

Act XI. of this session provided for the payment of members of the Assembly, by which the districts represented were, by the court of Quarter Sessions, ordered to pay the said members a sum not exceeding ten shilling per day for expenses while attending the sittings of the Legislature.

The fourth session of the third Parliament was opened at York by Lt.-Governor Hunter on the 1st February, 1804, and prorogued on the 9th of March following.

An Act was passed for the better securing of the Province against seditious attempts or designs to disturb the tranquility thereof. And an Act for the punishment of persons who seduced or aided soldiers of His Majesty's service to desert.

This Act was specially called for on account of an attempted mutiny on the part of a number of soldiers of the 49th Regiment, then in garrison at Fort George, Newark. It was discovered that emissaries from the United States had insinuated themselves among certain men of the regiment and had persuaded them to desert with arms in a company to the United States.

It may be mentioned here that the 49th at that time had been largely recruited in Ireland out of disaffected "United Irishmen" and even rebels, who had been out in 1798, and who had enlisted in the army to escape punishment by the law.

In the year 1802 Lt.-Colonel Isaac Brock had arrived with his regiment, the 49th, at Quebec. He was a gallant soldier, of fine presence and much experience in war—a born statesman and ruler of men. He was a native of Guernsey, an island which has given so many able officers to the British Army. Brock was a man of the highest order of intellect: cool and imperturable in danger, quick in decision and prompt in action. Had fortune placed him in command in Spain and Portugal, where the main British Armies were then contending so valorously with the armies of Napoleon, Brock would beyond doubt have won a name and fame equal to those of Moore, Picton, Hill or Wellington, whose victories in the peninsula contributed so much to the downfall of the military empire of France.

Colonel Brock with his regiment were sent up to Niagara, where

they remained in garrison for several years. Colonel Brock had the social qualities of a popular member of society, as well as of a gallant officer. His residence at Niagara gave the greatest satisfaction and pleasure to the inhabitants of both town and district. Brock made it his business to become intimately acquainted with the people in town and country, among whom he rode out daily. He most kindly received their invitations into their houses, and not seldom accepted their hospitable fare. His good humour and affability won their hearts, and man, woman and child loved and honoured Colonel Brock, declaring he was the equal of Simcoe, and higher praise than that they could not give.

Brock was unmarried, but his quarters in Fort George were the resort of all that were of best esteem in the society of Niagara. His visits to the houses of the farmers were hailed as the happiest of events. The chair he had sat upon and the cup he had drunk out of were preserved as relics in the family to be proud of, and some of such relics are to be found in our old families to this day. By his soldiers of the 49th—a rough, turbulent set of wild Irishmen principally—he was beloved and obeyed; although once, while he was absent from them for some time and the regiment was commanded by his second in command, a severe and unsympathetic martinet, the bad spirits in the regiment in Fort George, excited by the arts of some American emissaries, conspired to mutiny, desert and go over in a body to the United States.

The conspiracy was discovered and word was instantly sent to Colonel Brock, who was in York at the time. With characteristic decision he embarked in a small boat and was rowed across Lake Ontario to Niagara. The moment he landed he hastened up to Fort George with an officer, his orderly, and his trusty sergeant-major, FitzGibbon.

It was the dinner hour, and the men were all in barracks. Colonel Brock stationed himself at the door and sent his orderly in to bid the chief ringleader come out. The man came, and was instantly pinioned by FitzGibbon, and threatened with death if he made an alarm. Another of the ringleaders was then called out and pinioned in like manner, and then two more. When Brock had those men secured he walked to the guard house and ordered the drummers

to beat the "assembly," to call out the whole regiment. The troops came out with a rush of astonishment, and formed in line on the parade gound under the orders of their Colonel, whom no one had expected to see at that time. Brock ordered every man who had been engaged in the conspiracy to mutiny to step forward out of the ranks. A number did so, and were at once taken off under guard. Brock then told the regiment the cause of his action. The men under arrest, he said, would be sent to Quebec, to be tried for their heinous offence.

He addressed the men in tones of deep sorrow at the conduct of the prisoners, and the disgrace they had brought upon the regiment and upon the army. Only a few among them had had any knowledge of the plot, and all were justly indignant, as well as astonished at hearing of it.

The men on parade were deeply affected. They felt the justice of the Colonel's words, and promised their utmost obedience to all his orders and for the restoration of the good name of his regiment. The parade was then dismissed. The soldiers returned to their barracks, and the prisoners were embarked on a vessel and sent under a strong guard to Quebec, where two of them were tried by court martial and shot, and others were sentenced to lighter punishments. Colonel Brock felt deeply this incident, and it was long a subject of regretful conversation in the fort and in the country.

In the summer of 1804 Niagara was visited by Moore, the Irish poet. He had not yet reached the height of his fame, but was sufficiently known and esteemed to ensure a hearty welcome from Colonel Brock and the officers of the 49th and the best society in Niagara. Moore writes of this visit:

> To Colonel Brock of the 49th, who commanded at the Fort (George), I am particularly indebted for his kindness to me during the fortnight I remained at Niagara. In many pleasant days, which I passed with him and his brother officers, that of our visit to the Tuscarora Indians was not the least interesting."

Moore had made an extensive tour through the United States. A close inspection of the state of society, manners and morals he there met with completely disillusioned his mind of his preconceptions of the liberty, civilization and alleged superiority that existed under their Republican institutions.

Moore found the Canadian Loyalists far more to his taste in character and general happiness. Some of his epistles written about this time censure deeply the corruption and violence of party spirit, which he everywhere found in the States. He writes:

"In the ferment which the French Revolution excited among the Democrats of America, and the licentious sympathy with which they shared in the wildest excesses of Jacobinism, we may find one source of that vulgarity of vice, that hostility to all the graces of life, which distinguish the present demagogues of the United States, and has become indeed too generally the characteristics of their countrymen."

Moore visited the city of Washington during the presidency of Jefferson, whom he denounces as setting an example of foul immorality in keeping a black mistress:

"When he fled
From halls of council to his negro shed,
Where blest he woos some black Aspasia's grace,
And dreams of freedom in his slave's embrace."

Moore was disgusted with what he saw and heard at Washington and elsewhere in the United States. His observations can be found recorded in his works. His residence in Niagara seems to have been a great relief and pleasure to him. There stood in those days and until recent years a majestic spreading oak tree about two miles from the town on the Queenston road. A little plot of grass formed a seat under it, and the road parted and passed on each side of the tree, which had a view of the River Niagara sweeping round an immense curve, on the one side, and of fair fields and luxuriant forests in the background on the other. Moore, with a poet's eye for rural beauty, loved to sit and muse under this tree, which acquired the name of "Moore's Oak." It was here that he wrote the beautiful ballad, which is one of his most innocent and charming productions:

I knew by the smoke, that so gracefully curled
Above the green elms, that a cottage was near,
And I said if there's peace to be found in the world,
A heart that is humble might hope for it here.
It was noon, and on flowers that languished around
In silence reposed the voluptuous bee;
Every leaf was at rest and I heard not a sound
But the woodpecker tapping on the hollow beech tree!

Another immortal song of Moore's he wrote in Canada, "The Canadian Boat Song," which has become almost national among us:

"Faintly as tolls the evening chime,
Our voices keep tune and our oars keep time;
Soon as the woods on shore look dim,
We'll sing at St. Ann's our parting hymn;
Row, brothers, row, the stream runs fast,
The rapids are near and the daylight past."

Moore's visit was long remembered at Niagara. The late Thomas Darcy McGee, a year or two before his assassination at Ottawa, visited Niagara, the guest of the Hon. John Simpson, M. P., and made a pilgrimage to "Moore's Oak" while he was here. McGee lectured in the court house on his countryman and fellow poet, Moore: a lecture which was numerously attended and highly appreciated by the audience, of which the writer was one.

Moore and McGee had many points in common as to poetic genius and education. Both were intense Irish Patriots, but free from that senseless hatred of the British Empire which the later Irish politicians have adopted from the United States. McGee on coming to Canada soon saw his early error in regard to Great Britain and Ireland's position in the Empire. Moore never faltered or dreamed of hostility towards England. Poor McGee paid for his true allegiance with his life, being assassinated in Ottawa on the 7th April, 1868, by a wretch named Whelan, an emissary of the Fenian society, and who was convicted and hanged for the murder.

Colonel Brock was stationed at Niagara when, in 1804, the congregation of the Church of England, which had hitherto met for religious services in the Indian council house, resolved to build a church for the use of the parish.

The Rev. Dr. Addison, who had been rector for nearly twelve years, was active in seconding this pious work, and the people generally assisted. The site for church and churchyard had been the gift of the Provincial Government. The stone for the edifice was quarried at Queenston, and the farmers of the township gave the free labour of their teams and sleighs to haul the stone to Newark. Colonel Brock and the military officers and men gave liberally in aid of the building fund, and St. Mark's church was completed in about 1807. It was a blessing to the congregation as insuring the worship of God in a suitable edifice. It passed through serious vicissitudes, but still stands, enlarged and improved, to this day.

The Church register, kept from the year 1792, is carefully preserved. It is full of quaint, kindly observations by the good rector, made upon the marriages and deaths of his parishioners. These entries were copied from the register:

The first entry is August 23, 1792: The marriage of Henry Warner, bachelor, to Catharine Aglow, spinster.

Aug. 24, 1792—Capt. James Hamilton to Louisa, his wife. The remark appended to this tells a tale of a new country. They had been married by some commanding officer or magistrate, and thought it more decent to have the office repeated.

April 12th, 1794—William Dickson, bachelor, to Charlotte Adlem, spinster.

May 15th—Col. John Butler of the Rangers, buried, (my patron.)

Here is a pathetic entry: July, 1794—Buried, a child of a poor stranger called Chambers.

Baptism, Sept. 3—Cloe, a mulatto.

Sept. 9—Buried, a soldier surfeited by drinking cold water.

Married—John Jacks and Rose Moore, negroes. These must have come to their new homes as slaves, but, to the honour of Canada be it said, by Act of Parliament, which had sat within sight of this spot, were declared free, long before Britain, by many a hard fought struggle in the House of Commons, made her chattels free by the pouring out of millions of money.

The next entry tells of the time when this was the capital.

Buried—The infant child of the Attorney-General's servant, and the comment on some, to us never to be explained, tragedy: "Alas! he was starved."

Sept. 24th—White, the butcher from England, and an Indian child.

It is noticeable that the rector must have been indefatigable in his exertions, for we find him baptizing at Twelve-Mile Creek, Twenty-Mile Creek, Forty-Mile Creek, Ancaster, Fort Erie, St. Catharines, Head of Lake, Chippawa, Grantham, Niagara Falls, York, Long Point. On these occasions, when people came from long distances to Niagara, there were often a great many baptisms recorded

on one day—the comment "of riper years" showing many besides children were baptised.

1799—June 24th occurs a well-known name, the baptism of Allan Napier McNabb from York, as also occur the names of Ridout, Givens and Macaulay from the same place.

Allan N. McNabb was the famous Sir Allan N. McNabb, Speaker of the Upper Canada Parliament, conspicuous in the suppression of the rebellion of 1837. Ridout was a prominent citizen of York. Givens was deputy-superintendent of Indian affairs. Macauley was afterwards chief justice of Upper Canada.

Baptized—Amos Smith, of riper years.

Buried—Old Mr. Doadle.

1801—Baptized—David, son of Isaac, a Mohawk Indian.

1802—Buried—Cut Nose Johnson, a Mohawk Chief.

Poor old Trumper, Capt. Pilkington's gardener.

These slight descriptive terms show a human interest, a kind heart, a humorous vein. It is remarkable that in all the earlier notices of baptisms there is nothing but the name and those of the father and mother. After some time come notices of godmothers, and (1806) this fuller notice:

May 3rd—Eliza Ann Marie Vigoreux, daughter of Capt. Henry, Royal Engineers, and Eliza. Godfather, Rev. Louis Vigoreux; godmothers, Lady Spencer and Anna Maria Vigoreux.

Here is the name of one who justly, or rather unjustly, received much blame in the war of 1812:

1808, Nov. 20—Baptism—Augustus Margaret Firth, daughter of Col. Henry Proctor, commandant of the 41st Regiment.

1807, Dec. 11th—Married—Lieut. Wm. Proctor, brother of Col. Henry Proctor, commanding at Fort George, to Joan Crooks.

Nov., 1807—John Conrad Gatman, an old German.

1810—Buried—Master Taylor of 100th Regiment, killed by lightning.

1807—Old Amen Misner.

1812, May 5—Married—Thomas McCormack, bachelor, to Augusta Jarvis, spinster.

Here is the brief record of the Hero of Upper Canada, who did so much by wise counsels, prompt action and undaunted courage to

save our country and repel the invader; who, galloping away in the early morning, was brought back by his companions in arms in sorrow and gloom, a corpse:

Oct. 16, 1812—Burials—Gen. Sir Isaac Brock and Colonel McDonald. They fell together at Queenston, and they were buried together in the northeast bastion of Fort George.

In a Buffalo paper, in which some of these entries were copied, occurs the rather astonishing and not to be easily understood statement: "We now approach the period of the second war of independence." How an armed invasion of a peaceful, neighbouring country can be called a war of "independence" by the invader is an unsolved mystery to common sense—but it is typical Americanism.

During the occupation of the town by the Americans in 1813, from May to December, the notices go on in St. Mark's register, but it may be noted that there are no marriages, except two Indian chiefs, thus:

Mohawk Chief Capt. Norton to his wife, Catharina—I think on the 27th July, 1813, when she was baptized—and Jacob Johnson, another Mohawk chief, was married to his wife Mary on 21st August, this year.

These Indians were serving with the British Army, and their marriages most likely took place at the house of the rector, three miles from the town, and at that time the headquarters of the British troops investing the town, which was held by the Americans.

1813, July 17th—Buried—Col. C. Bishop. Died of his wounds.

As this brave young soldier was buried at Lundy's Lane, Rev. Mr. Addison must have been called on to ride all these miles to perform this service.

The next item gives us another glimpse of warfare:

On the day on which the engagement between Sir James Yeo and Commodore Chauncy took place on the lake, our dear friend Mrs. McNabb was buried in Mr. Servos' burying ground—supposed to be the 29th Sept., 1813.

This engagement history gives as the 28th Sept., but it is evident that during this exciting period some of the entries have been made from memory.

1816, June 10th—Buried—George Lawe, Esq., Usher of the Black Rod.

1817—Married—Rev. Wm. Samson, minister, of Grimsby, to Maria Nelles.

1819—Buried—James Rogers, innkeeper. And the remark: "A bad profession for any but very sober men."

1822, Sept. 23—Poor old Hope.

Feb. 23—Baptised—Agnes Strachan, daughter of Hon. Dr. J. Strachan, rector of York, and Ann, his wife.

Here may be read the names of most of the regiments that have been quartered here: The 41st, 8th Kings, 100th, 99th, 70th, Sappers and Miners. Of these we still find traces in buttons picked up at Fort George marked with these numbers of the regiments.

Rev. Mr. Addison was military chaplain for many years. The last entry in his hand is in 1827, in tremulous characters, instead of full name, "R. A." And here in another hand is recorded the burial of this venerable man, whose zeal, piety and kindness of heart we have seen told all unwittingly in these pages:

Oct. 9th, 1829—The Rev. Robt. Addison departed this life on the 6th, in the 75th year of his age.

On the outside wall of the church is a large tablet to his memory, and inside another.

Inside the church are a number of interesting tablets erected at later dates. One to the memory of Colonel John Butler, inscribed as follows:

"Fear God—Honour the King."

In memory of Col. John Butler, His Majesty's Commissioner for Indian Affairs, born in New London, Province of Connecticut, 1728. His life was spent honourably in the service of the Crown. In the war with France for the conquest of Canada, he was distinguished at the battle of Lake George, Sept., 1755, and at the siege of Fort Niagara and its capitulation, 25th July, 1759. In the war of 1776 he took up arms in defence of the Unity of the Empire, and raised and commanded the loyal American regiment of Butler's Rangers. A sincere Christian as well as a brave soldier. He was one of the founders and first patron of this parish. He died at Niagara, in May, 1796, and is interred in the family burying ground near this town.

Another tablet preserves the memory of Col. Elliot of the Canadian Rifle Regt., a gallant officer of the Peninsular war and a great favorite of the Duke of Wellington. Another commemorates

Col. Kingsmill, sheriff of Lincoln, who also served in the Peninsular war. Another is erected to the memory of Capt. Copeland Radcliffe of His Majesty's navy, who fell whilst gallantly heading his men to board one of the enemy's schooners at anchor off Fort Erie, on the night of the 17th August, 1814. Another is to the momory of Donald Campbell, Islay, Argylshire, fort major of Fort George, died 1st Dec., 1812, and father of Judge Campbell of Niagara. Another large tablet preserves the memory of the Rev. Thomas Creen, the second rector of the parish. Another to Lundy, daughter of Chief Justice Sewell of Quebec.

Another records the death of four who fell defending Niagara against the American army and fleet under Gen. Dearborn and Commodore Chauncy, in 1813:

In memory of Capt. Wm. McLelland, aged 42 years; Charles Wright and Wm. Cameron, in the 25th year of their age, of the 1st Regiment of Lincoln Militia, who gloriously fell on the 27th day of May, 1813. Also Adjutant Lloyd of the 8th King's Regiment of Infantry.

"As lurid lightnings dart their vivid light,
So poured they forth their fires in bloody fight;
They bravely fell to save their country's cause,
They loved their constitution, King and laws."

Other interesting tablets are on the walls of St. Mark's. The churchyard also contains memorials of interest. On one tombstone, hacked and partly defaced by the Americans in 1813, is the following inscription now partly illegible:

"To the memory of Charles Morrison, a native of Scotland, who resided many years at Michilimacinac as a merchant, and, since the cession of that post to the United States, as a British subject by election. He was remarkable for loyalty to his Sovereign and integrity as a merchant. He died here on his way to Montreal on the sixth day of September, 1802, aged 65 years."

The churchyard—one of the loveliest in the Province—with old, shady pines and maples, odoriferous shrubs, flowers and green sward, contains a great number of interesting memorials of the departed. The traces of the rifle pits thrown up in 1812 are still plainly visible, and it is full of reminiscences of the olden time. It would fill this volume to describe them all. Here is preserved "Brock's Seat," a large, flat-topped boulder, which once stood on the lake bank at the foot of Victoria street and which was subsequently removed into the

churchyard. The following sonnet was written on the subject of this historical stone :

" Yes ! place it in the old churchyard, this stone
In honoured memory of heroic Brock,
Whose seat it was, oft pondering on the shock
Of war to come, while lake and river shone
With sunset glory. His clear eye alone
Foresaw the way to victory—to unlock
The people's hearts and fill them from his own.
Yes ! set it fitly in the sacred ground,
And every year with garlands be it crowned,
Forgetting never, our deliverance stood
At the full price of his devoted blood,
The price he paid, amid the battle roar,
At Queenston Heights bear witness ever more."

CHAPTER XXI.

1800.

PARTY differences in a free constitutional government like ours are natural and inevitable, and, indeed, most useful when kept within the limits of truth and honest opinion. Every conceivable question has various phases which present themselves to the reason and intellect for consideration, and where thought is free, opinion will be various on whatever subject is presented to the mind. But there is a medium in human conduct; certain limits beyond which reason will not go. But nowhere in the world at that time had enlightened reason and moderation control in the conduct of political parties. Britain herself was racked and rent by irreconcilable factions. No wonder then that in Upper Canada political animosity and the venomous writings and speeches of adventurers, come from the old world, inflamed the passions of a few—nay, of many—but never of a majority of the people of the Province. Many who had no grievances of their own to complain of got excited over the tales, true or false—false mostly, of the alleged grievances of others.

Lt.-Governor Hunter died soon after the close of this session. He was an able, firm and thoroughly honest man, who held the respect and even the love of the people of Upper Canada.

He was succeeded by the Hon. Alexander Grant, who administered the Government for a year. He opened the fourth session of the fourth Parliament at York, on 4th of February, 1806, and prorogued it on the 3rd March following.

This session of Parliament was notable for the first rise of a factious opposition to the Government, by certain members representing the County of York and some others. The beginning of political agitation in Upper Canada was about the years 1803-1804, and was started ostensibly on the land grants to settlers in the Province. An influx of American immigrants from the United

States, drawn by the excellence and cheapness of land in Upper Canada, made a perceptible change in the previous harmony of the population. These American settlers—of republican principles, most of them—claimed the same land privileges as the United Empire Loyalists, and because they could not get all they wanted exhibited a spirit of opposition and disaffection to the Government. They found leaders to work up discontent and advocate extreme and inadmissible claims and theories of government.

Robert Thorpe, a lawyer from England, had settled at Newark: a man imbued with extreme French revolutionary ideas; a follower of "Wilkes and liberty." He had succeeded in obtaining the office of judge in the Province—how and by whose influence is an inexplicable mystery. He was a man of violent temper, a hot partisan and unscrupulous in his abuse of the Government. With ability enough and a ready tongue, he made trouble, discontent and discord wherever he went.

The bench was his favorite and usual rostrum, and in his addresses to courts and juries Judge Thorpe delivered political harangues on the topics of the day, especially on the land question and corruption of the Administration.

Thorpe was zealously aided in his nefarious work by Joseph Wilcox, the member for York. Wilcox had been one of the "United Irishmen" at home, and was sent to Canada by his family, who were respectable, to get him out of the way. By their influence he got the appointment of Sheriff of York. But his political passions were too violent for restraint—even by office. He abused the Government and all the supporters of the Governor to an extent that led to his dismissal from the sheriffship. He then went to Newark and set up a violent radical newspaper called the *Freeman*, and practiced the trade of a political agitator and dealer in wholesale and retail abuse. He, with one Wyatt, a man of the same sort, were elected members of the House of Assembly for York, and with Mallory from Norfolk, began a general political crusade against all that was loyal, respectable and honoured in the Province.

When war was made upon the Province in 1812, Wilcox, as a matter of course, turned open traitor and joined the American invaders, fought for them, robbed, stole, burned and murdered for

them until he found his death—wearing their uniform—at the hands of Peter Schram, a loyal militiaman of the Township of Niagara.

Wilcox was a tonguey, tricky, unscrupulous, bad living fellow. He kept the fires of discord blazing in the Province, particularly at York and Newark, in each of which places he published his weekly inflammatory newspaper, abusing everybody and everything that was opposed to his evil work, and preparing the way, as he believed, for the coming subjection of the Province by his real employers in the United States.

Thorpe and Wilcox were the beginners of political strife and agitation in Upper Canada—the fountain head of a foul stream of faction which ran through the Province, depositing its filth in public affairs and public politics for several years. It at last mitigated its violence and lost its power as the people became more enlightened by education and experience of its evil results.

Judge Thorpe wanted to obtain the office of Chief Justice of Upper Canada, and because the Government would not grant him a dignity so undeserved, he went into more violent opposition than ever. The disaffected American settlers and others, now banded into a party, supported Thorpe and Wilcox as their special advocates. These settlers were numerous in the country back of York and on Lake Erie—the effect of which was felt until 1837.

Governor Gore, after every effort tried in vain to appease their seditious language and acts, dismissed Judge Thorpe from the judiciary and Wilcox from the sheriffship. Thorpe retired to the United States—not transported, but voluntarily—where he found more congenial spirits to practice his theories of government upon. There was evidence in the hands of the Government that Thorpe, Wilcox and others of their party were acting in collusion with Emmet and the fugitive "United Irishmen" in New York and with the French Minister in Washington, to embarrass the Government of Upper Canada and prepare the way for the Americans in the war which was already contemplated by the Democratic party leaders.

Faction, once born, grew fiercely in men's bosoms. One of the colleagues of Judge Thorpe was a lawyer named Weekes, a member of Assembly for York. He was counsel in a case tried at Newark before Judge Thorpe. The judge had, in his usual manner, harangued

the grand and pettit jurors and spectators in the court on the politics of the day, to the deep offence of most of his hearers. The minds of all were excited. In the course of the trial Weekes used some seditious expressions, for which he was reproved by William Dickson, member of the bar of Niagara, who was the opposing counsel in the case. Weekes, in his arrogance, sent a challenge to Dickson to fight a duel. The challenge was accepted. The parties with their seconds went next day across the river to fight, when Dickson shot his antagonist dead at the first fire, and with the general approbation of the people, who said he had served him right.

The death of Weekes opened the constituency of York, and Judge Thorpe became a candidate to fill the vacancy—and, to the disgrace of the riding, he was elected. Such was the heat of his faction, that nothing seemed too violent for such a man as Thorpe to offer to do.

Wilcox, Wyatt, Mallory, Jarvis, Thorpe and others, all men in the service and pay of the Government, formed a party of leading agitators which kept the Province in a feverish excitement for years, until the war of 1812 put an end to them, and to much of the machinations they had been concerned in to revolutionize the Province and annex it to the United States.

Francis Gore, a gentleman of education and manners, able and kindly in conduct, was made Lt.-Governor in 1806. He opened the third session of the fourth Parliament at York, on the 2nd February, and prorogued it on the 10th March, 1807.

This session of Parliament was distinguished by the the passing of an Act to establish public grammar schools in every district of the Province. This measure was largely promoted by the influence of the Rev. John Strachan, afterwards bishop of Toronto. By this Act a grammar school was established in Newark. The sum of one hundred pounds was voted to be paid towards the maintenance of each such grammar school. Five trustees, to be nominated by the Governor-in-Council, were appointed to manage the affairs of the school and to appoint the teacher.

This was the beginning of the public school system in Upper Canada. The grammar school of Niagara had the honour of educat-

ing in arts and letters many of the young men who figured conspicuously in the Province in after years.

The violence and reign of terror in France during the revolution had caused a great emigration of the adherents of the Royal Government to take refuge in England, where they were protected and in large measure supported by the British Government. Their numbers and spirit led them to organize, with the sanction of the Government, and join in the military operations of the war. A body of many thousand Royalists had made a descent in 1795, at Quiberon, in Britanny, and been defeated by the Republican armies and forced to re-embark for England.

It became a difficulty to support so large a body of French emigrants. A plan was adoped in England, by the cabinet in communication with Lt.-Governor Hunter in Upper Canada, to form a settlement of French Royalists in this Province. A tract of land was appropriated to their settlement in rear of York.

A number of the Royalists settled there for a while, and some, with the commander of them, Count Depuisaye, chose to settle at Newark on lands of their own.

Count Depuisaye accordingly came to Newark and purchased land on the river road about three miles from Newark, and on it built a stone house in the French style—a house with massive walls, high roof and dormer windows—which still remains, overlooking the road and river.

Count Depuisaye was a French nobleman of courtly manners and military training, brought up under the old regime. A perfect gentleman, affable and agreeable. His principles, so like those of the United Empire Loyalists, gained him immediate entrance into the best society at Newark, and the French Count, as he was popularly called, was a favorite with all classes of the community Some other French Royalists were generally at his house—the Count de Chalus, Colonel D'Allegre, Quetton de St. George and others. Their society was greatly prized in Newark. The Count Depuisaye stayed at Newark but a few years. Other views and expectations took him back to England, and the scheme of a French Royalist settlement was broken up. The house of the Count, standing solid as ever,

remains the sole memorial of its noble and gallant builder and occupant.

The lands in the Township of Niagara had been generally taken up in 1784 and succeeding two or three years. An old plan of the Township of about 1805 gives the names of the owners of the respective lands at that date. A number of lots, however, are left blank. The maker of the map probably did not know the names of the owners.

Grants on the Military Reserve, where the lots are not numbered:

W. Dickson,	B. Picard,
T. Butler,	G. Picard,
A. Butler,	P. Caughel,
J. Muirhead,	Wm. McLellan,
John Ball,	McFarlane,
T. Butler,	Egilson,
John Secord,	Fields,
John Servos,	Peter Ball,
Rev. Dr. Addison.	I. Crooks,
John Whitmore,	B. Lawrence,
Col. Pilkington,	Corus.

The above are all on the Military Reserve north of the west line. In the rest of the township are set down the following:

On the River Road.

Eli Phelps,	J. Brown,
R. Hamilton,	G. Fields,
Canby,	J. Kemp,
Vrooman,	Woolman,
Durham,	Johnston,
A. Vrooman,	Depuisaye,
Thos. Clarke,	Swayze.

In Rest of Township.

D. Secord,	J. Young,
Jno. Clement,	Markle,
W. Clark,	W. Ferris,
Jos. Clement,	B. Shuter,
Strowbridge,	J. Collard,

J. Crysler,
Stuart,
C. Stevens,
Casselman,
A. Stevens,
Jas. Clement,
Jos. Brown,
Cudney,
J. Thompson,
Crooks,
Fry,
Jno. Ball,
Coxe,
Sparback,
Lambert,
Goring,
F. Loring,
E. Collard,
Lampman,
Kirby,
Norton,
C. Warner,
Robinson,
Hains,
Cain,
Bradt,
Brice,
Law.

CHAPTER XXII.

1806.

AFTER the first great influx of the U. E. Loyalists, the population increased less rapidly. In 1800 there were about fifty thousand persons, exclusive of Indians, settled in Upper Canada, and in 1812 about seventy thousand. The principal settlements were in the Niagara District, the Home District and Eastern District, with a considerable settlement on the shore of Lake Erie.

The town of Newark remained the largest and most important place for trade. Queenston, as an adjunct, had also a number of mercantile and forwarding houses connected with the portage round the Falls of Niagara, which continued to be the great link in the chain of transportation by the lakes to the western country.

Teams of from four to five yoke of oxen, or from two to four span of horses, hitched to great strong wagons, laden with barrels, bags and boxes of merchandise, went up the mountain and on to Chippawa, where a fleet of batteaux—propelled by sail or oar—took on board the goods and conveyed them to the most remote part of the lakes above. These goods were largely articles for Indian use, wear and consumption—among which spirituous liquors, chiefly in the shape of rum, figured largely and unfortunately. Abstinence as a principle and prime virtue was not practiced generally. While absolute drunkenness was condemned, it did not imply much disgrace, either among Indians or whites. Improvement has grown slowly in this, but it has made itself obvious in our day, when the old drinking usages of society have been largely modified, and in many cases wholly abolished.

The Town of Newark had quite changed its appearance by 1806. Substantial and even elegant houses of frame or brick replaced the original log tenements. Excellent clay for bricks was found within

the limits of the town, and skilful brickmakers worked it up into bricks, better than was done afterwards.

New streets were built upon as the population increased. Front street, Prideaux street, King and Queen streets, Simcoe street, that led out to the Lake Road; Johnson street, Gate street and others were full of residences, shops and inns. The inns were a prominent feature in the town. Apart from the military troops always stationed here, who were liberal patronizers of the bars and tap-rooms, the concourse of people attending the courts of law, which were for the whole District of Niagara, required much room and accommodation in inns.

The troops in headquarters at the barracks, the district officials connected with the law courts and other offices, the superintendent of Indians and his staff, the commissariat and engineers' quarters in the town, the ship-yard, and various industries carried on, all made Niagara a busy and prosperous place, even after the removal of the capital to York.

The settlers on farms in the township shared fully in the general prosperity as their farms were cleared and brought into cultivation, which, being heavily wooded, required eight to ten years of time and labour. The farmers were able to raise splendid crops of wheat, maize, oats, barley and root crops of all kinds suited to the soil and climate. On every farm was an orchard of apple trees, with pears, plums and cherries. Peaches as yet were not introduced, nor vines, which have since become so much cultivated. The garden and field vegetables were abundant and of fine qualities. The town of Newark offered a good and profitable market—so good that farmers at a distance of thirty or forty miles found it to their advantage to bring their produce for sale at Newark. The clay roads of summer and the winter roads of snow for sleighs, with good teams of horses, made trips to Newark market—with the addition in prospect of a day's pleasure in town—pleasant to the farmers, who thought nothing of the distance.

With the growth of the town the farms in the township improved likewise. Many of the principal farmers had in the old colonies been men of landed estates and large means, who knew all that was known of the profitable cultivation of land, and who brought

their knowledge and experience to bear in the new country where they had founded new homes.

Niagara Township had been surveyed into lots of two hundred acres each. Many farmers held several of these lots, granted to themselves or members of their families. These properties of course became changed or sub-divided as family convenience made necessary, but to a considerable extent the old families retain the whole or portions of their original estates to this day.

The first settlers of necessity built houses and barns of round logs or square timbers. Their fields were fenced with rails of wood, laid zigzag one upon another. Near the door was generally a well with a lofty sweep overhanging it to lift the oaken bucket, full of the delicious, sparkling, limestone water that was found everywhere, or if not found easily, some well credited old man would volunteer to find a desirable spring by going over the ground with a divining rod of witch hazel, the use of which was by many believed in at that time, and the virtues of which no one could explain by giving a reason why.

The house was generally built spacious and roomy. The large kitchen was the sitting and work room for the maids and serving men, with a huge open fireplace that would hold on its andirons great logs and piles of cut wood of four feet in length, the blaze of which in winter made quite needless the light of candles, and the warmth from which made all sit at a distance from the fire. Round this social hearth gathered the whole family on winter nights, when all felt comfort in the knowledge that the cattle and horses and all other living animals belonging to the farm were safe and snug on straw, in stable or barn or outhouse belonging to them.

After a good, plentiful supper and all was cleared, the women and girls sat down with knitting or sewing in their nimble hands, while the men tried, with gay songs, stories or country jests and riddles, to enliven the company. All joined in cracking butternuts, walnuts or hickory nuts, eating apples, and drinking cider made on the farm and preserved for winter use, until bedtime, when all retired in peace to well earned rest, and without a fear of the morrow.

The routine of work was methodically carried on. The whole

year had its distinct duties. The men servants and maids were hired by the year and lived in the house. Ploughing and seeding in spring; making hay, shearing and preparing for harvest in summer. The wheat harvest, always the first, came on in July or August. Then in autumn the general ingathering of all other crops—maize and oats and barley the chief. In winter the flail of the thresher was heard fast and regularly all day long in the barn, and the woodman's axe resounded in sharp strokes, broken at intervals by the heavy thud of a falling tree, which shook the cold air, as the work of clearing the great woods went on. The women and maids of the house attended to the cows and dairy, cooking, and all the household duties. A loom for weaving occupied a corner of the large room, and the spinning wheel would hum musically at hours devoted to it.

The living was plain and plentiful. Fresh and salted beef, pork, game, wild fowl, waffles, corn and buckwheat cakes and poultry, with fish, bread, butter, milk, eggs, vegetables, pastry, and maple sugar, maple syrup and wild honey, formed a wholesome diet. Many Dutch and German dishes were commonly on the table, and are not yet out of use. Cabbage in the form of saur kraut, kohl salad, schmier kase, and other Dutch dainties were relished by them —and are yet.

The Two, Four and Eight-Mile creeks ran in full streams of water out of the tree-shaded swamps, and in the spring, as soon as the ice disappeared in the outlets, shoals of fish: pike, muscalonge, suckers and others, almost choked the streams as they pressed up them to spawn. Later on, in April and May, the white fish came in endless shoals to the lake shores, and were caught in seines and eaten fresh, or salted and smoked for use. Most excellent eating they were—fit for the table of the nicest epicure. Berries of many kinds—the strawberry, raspberry, huckleberry, thimbleberry and cranberry—grew wild and in profusion, affording dainty additions to the table of the tidy, provident housewife. In short, twenty-five years had sufficed to turn the wilderness of woods into a rural paradise, where all things goodly grew for the use of man.

Taxes were almost unknown. The few wants of the community were roads, bridges, and the administration of justice, all of which were in the unpaid management of the Quarter Sessions.

There were no elected municipal organizations, with salaried officials and jobs, while a light license fee on inns provided most of the public money needed. The people met once a year and elected assessors, a tax collector, pathmasters, poundkeepers and fence-viewers. That was all the community required at that time—a simple organization, but sufficient.

The clothing of the people was mostly of home fabrication, and made up in the house, either by the women or by travelling tailors who went from farm to farm in regular circuit to make up or mend the men's apparel, while a travelling shoemaker came when needed to make or mend the boots and shoes of the family, the leather of which had been made by a small tanner who tanned on shares the hides and skins of cattle killed for use of the farm.

Much of the small traffic of the community was carried on by pedlers, either by carts or in packs borne upon their backs. His walking stick, studded with nails for measuring, was his yardwand. His arrival brought always a cheerful day to the solitary farmstead —dress pieces, ribbons, combs, necklaces, and not a few books, tracts and song books, had the honest pedler to dispose of, and if a worthy disciple of Autolycus his sales were always good and profitable to himself and pleasing to his customers. The pedler held his rounds for a long time against the rivalry of the town and country store. Old honest John Ball, ever welcome, carried his pack round the townships of Niagara and Grantham until about 1850.

The trades of the carpenter, the blacksmith, the plough and wagon maker were the first in request in the new settlements, and were always skilfully carried on, for plenty of handicraftsmen as well as farmers had come into the new districts. Agricultural implements were still of the sort in general use in England and North America. The ploughs were strong and useful, the harrows, carts, hoes, forks and other tools adapted to the work. No machinery in the modern sense of the term was used on the farm. Threshing was all done by hand; the fanning mill, turned by hand, cleaned the grain from the chaff; the harvesting of the grain was done by the cradle —a frame work on the scythe—which the reaper swung by his strong arms; the plain scythe cut the grass in the meadows, and the hay fork and rake, were sometimes in wet weather handled by the girls

of the house. All the work of the fields was done by hand, and modern machinery was undreamed of. The industrious farmer had more money in his stocking at the end of the year than the modern agriculturist who keeps fast horses, stylish buggies and wears fashionable clothes, and whose daughters prefer the piano and parlour to the dairy and kitchen, and gadding about to staying attentive to their duties at home.

Still everything seemed for the best when no better was known; and as a famous Scottish ploughman has sung:

"An' buirdly chiels and clever hizzies
Were raised in sic a way as this is."

All were content and happy, with hope shining before them as a bright star of coming days.

The people minded their own business. They turned a careless ear to predicted trouble coming on from the States. They were comparatively few to many, but they had brave hearts and knew that Britain was a sure help in need, and had fleets and armies ready to come to their defence if assailed by the enemy. And always ready to do their duty to their King, they knew the King would never fail in his duty to them. In the same spirit if not in the words of the immortal bard of Avon, the thought was in their hearts as it has been in the hearts of their descendants ever since:

"Nought shall make us rue,
If England to herself will be but true."

The general cost of living in the first years of settlement, from 1784 to 1790, in the township of Niagara, may be estimated from the old account books of Captain Daniel Servos, still preserved by the family. The following prices are here set down in dollars and cents, but the books were kept in New York currency, then in general use:

Price of lumber, per 1,000	$20 00
Flour, per cwt	7 50
Bran, per bush	50
Salt, per bush	4 50
Tea, per lb	1 50
Deer skins, each	63
Elk skins, each	1 75
Bear skins, each	2 50
Martin skins, each	62

Price of window glass, per pane, 7x9	$ 0 18
Wheat, per bush	1 25
Tobacco, per lb	63
Madeira wine, per gal	3 00
Rum, per gal	3 00
Nails, per lb	25
Writing paper, per quire	36
Sugar, loaf, per lb	30
Candles, per lb	30
Corn, per bush	1 25
Spinning wheel	6 00
Calico, per yard	18

In 1790, Mrs. Molly Johnson, widow of Sir William Johnson, is charged with 20 bush. corn and 300 cwt. of flour—paid by Robert Kerr.

1790.—For the making of six pairs of shoes in the house by Thos. Brown, leather found him, is paid $3.65. One pair was for John and one for Billie—that is, for the afterwards Col. John D. Servos and Lt. Wm. Servos.

In 1803 there was a brewery in Niagara, kept by Thos. Page, who had his malt ground at Servos' mill.

A man's wages were 50c a day; a servant girl's, $2 a month, with board. This will give a good idea of the economical situation about 1780 to 1800 in Niagara.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1806.

IN 1805, Colonel Brock, weary of an inactive garrison life while so many gallant soldiers were winning fame in active service abroad, applied for leave to return to England and join her army then preparing for continental campaigns. The aspect of American affairs and the open threats made in Congress of war with Britain and the conquest of Canada, the violence of the Democratic press, and general sympathy for the cause of Napoleon and France, caused the British Ministry to reconsider the leave granted to Brock. They believed now and were right, that Canada would ultimately be attacked by the United States, and Brock was remanded to the Province of Upper Canada, to take such measures for its defence as seemed necessary, as far as lay in his power, for England was then entering into that death struggle with Napoleon in Spain, Portugal and France, which only ended with his overthrow, but in consequence of which Canada had been almost denuded of regular troops. But the organization of the militia and general conduct of affairs in Upper Canada needed the intelligence, experience and firm mind of a man like Brock to evoke order and confidence in preparing for the defence of the Province. Brock returned in 1806, and took again the command of his regiment, the 49th, which was again placed in Fort George. He weeded out most of the bad elements it had contained, and it was now one of the best fighting corps in the service, and the most to be depended on.

The people of Newark were pleased and proud of the return of Brock. He was so universally known and loved they felt safe under his protection, and gave little heed to the rhodomontade oratory of Congress, which they regarded as "sound and fury," meaning nothing. In this they were at last undeceived. The voices of the party in power in the United States meant all they said, and more than

they knew, but the people of Upper Canada kept quiet of tongue, yet stood with listening ear, half-expectant for the rising storm.

During the incubation of the war policy in the United States, the Democratic press was loaded with diatribes against Great Britain, the plea being the orders-in-council issued by England against France, right of search and impressment, all subjects capable of a friendly solution had it been sought in the spirit of peace, but being evoked in a spirit of hostility, as a cloak to cover designs upon Canada, it was not possible for England to yield without loss and dishonour.

The American papers of the period were full of false travellers' tales about public feeling and opinion in Canada, especially Upper Canada. Books and pamphlets abounded concerning the Province. To give one specimen: In 1810 one Shultz published a book of "Travels in Canada," in which he states, "That on his tour he stopped at Niagara, and at a public house he met eight or ten of the inhabitants, who were collected round a billiard table. The attack upon the Chesapeake was the subject of conversation. One gentleman observed: 'If Congress will only send us a flag and a proclamation declaring that whoever is found in arms against the United States shall forfeit his lands, we will fight ourselves free without any expense to them.'"

Unless Wilcox was the gentleman alluded to, the whole story has the smell of fabrication in it.

The same traveller relates, also, that "Fort Erie village contains about thirty houses in the vicinity of the garrison, the inhabitants of which have mostly emigrated from Pennsylvania. You here observe the same open and avowed partiality for the United States which I have noticed in every place I was at in Upper Canada."

Spies and emissaries were sent throughout the Province to spread a spirit of disaffection where practicable, without success, except to some degree among the American settlers of the west, some of whom relished the bait thrown to them, although the majority of them remained true to the flag and country of their adoption. By living here they had learned to prefer British law and government, and to know the power and determination of the men ruling its destinies.

When at last Napoleon had conquered state after state in

Europe, until the whole continent lay at his feet and their forces at his disposal—England and Russia alone setting him at defiance—when, in 1812, the great combined armies of France and the allied kingdoms of Europe set out to subdue Russia—and the world believed it would be done—then it was considered by Congress a safe time to strike England the foul-handed blow which was meant to crush Canada and sever the Province from her dominions.

From 1808 to 1812 the power of Napoleon waxed more and more in Europe, and Britain stood alone defiant in that "splendid isolation," which at this moment, 1896, has also been grandly said of her. The war party in the States went on increasing in a spirit of virulence and hostility which had but one meaning to intelligent observers in Canada, and that was a war—sooner or later. The people generally of the Province, conscious of no offence to the United States, were not at all perturbed in mind, and, as an aged lady, a contemporary of the times, said to the writer, no one was at all afraid of war if it should come—the women least of all—she remarked; and as for the wild speeches of members of Congress, they carried no terror to Canadians, and it was almost a relief when they declared war, as it put an end to their brags, and Canada gave an effectual answer to their insulting speeches in Congress.

One specimen only out of hundreds shall be quoted here of the language uttered in Congress at that time. It is from a speech of Henry Clay of Kentucky, one of the fiercest advocates of war against Britain and Canada. Said he:

"I am not for stopping at Quebec or anywhere else, but I would take the whole continent from them and ask them no favors. Her fleets cannot then rendezvous at Halifax as now, and having no place of resort in the north cannot infest our coast as they have lately done. It is as easy to conquer them by land as their whole navy would conquer ours on the ocean. We must take the continent from them. *I wish never to see a peace till we do.* God has given us the power and the means. We are to blame if we do not use them."

It may be just remarked here that this same Clay, the fiery advocate of war, was the same man sent to England by Congress in 1814 to beg for peace on any terms obtainable, and who concluded articles of peace without gaining the concession of a single point on which they had declared war. But the power of Napoleon was

broken then, and their capital, Washington, had been taken and its public buildings destroyed in retaliation for the destruction of Newark in Upper Canada, and worse was feared now that England's hands were free.

It may also be mentioned here, that in the year 1862, James Clay, son of that same Henry Clay, sought refuge and protection under the British flag at Niagara. He was an adherent of the Southern Confederacy, and the officials of the United States were seeking to arrest him for rebellion. He was a quiet, intelligent man, who found that it was a happy chance for him that the flag of Britain, which his father had tried to remove from Canada, was still floating here to afford him the protection he so eagerly sought and happily found. Happily for James Clay and hundreds of prominent refugee Confederates Canada had not been conquered in the war of 1812.

The fourth session of the fourth Parliament, 1808, was opened at York by Lt.-Governor Gore. At this session the militia laws were amended and reduced to one Act: for the raising and training of the militia of Upper Canada. This was a comprehensive and most necessary measure in view of the existing and threatening aspect of public affairs.

Lt.-Governor Gore held office until the fourth session of the third session of the fifth Parliament, when, in the almost certain prospect of war, it was judged prudent to appoint a military man to the head of the Government. Accordingly Major-General Brock was made administrator of the Government of Upper Canada.

General Brock, at that time stationed at Niagara, was in his 43rd year of age, with long experience in Canada and beloved by the people, who had implicit trust in his talents and zeal to serve and save the country in peace or war. He was indefatigable in the discharge of every duty, public or private, and a shrewd interpreter of the signs of the times. He foresaw that the national jealousy and hostile temper of the United States must eventually lead to war with or without cause, and that the continued success of Napoleon on the continent of Europe was bringing on the crisis, which might arrive even sooner than he had expected.

Brock, in a letter of the time, referring to this topic, says:

"The President's address is sufficiently hostile, and if I thought he would

be supported to the extent of his wishes I should consider war as inevitable. We are at this moment in awful suspense. The King's illness, the proximity of the armies under Massena and Wellington, and the measures our Government may deem proper to adopt to meet the hostile proceedings of the Americans, afford serious matter for contemplation."

In the same letter to his brother, Brock makes a touching reference to his own imperfect studies in literature:

"Should you find that I am likely to remain here, I wish you to send me some choice authors in history, particularly ancient, with maps, and the best translations of ancient works. I read in my youth Pope's translation of Homer, but till lately never discovered its exquisite beauties. As I grow old I acquire a taste for study. I firmly believe that the same propensity was always inherent in me, but, strange to tell, although many were paid extravagantly I never had the advantage of a master to guide me. But it is now too late to repine. I rejoice that my nephews are more fortunate."

In another letter to his brother Brock remarks on the same subject, January, 1811:

"I hardly ever stir out, and unless I have company at home my evenings are passed *solus*. I read much, but good books are scarce, and I hate borrowing. I like to read a book quickly, and afterwards revert to such passages as have made the deepest impressions and which appear to me most important to remember, a practice I cannot conveniently pursue unless the book is mine."

A letter of Brock's, written from Quebec, Sept., 1805, illustrates the firmness and decision of his character and the insight he possessed of the influences which operate upon the human mind in certain contingencies of success and failure:

"I look upon the situation of England as critical in the extreme. Bonaparte laughs at the whole world. Who could have conceived that his fleets could traverse the ocean with the impunity which we have lately witnessed? It is true they have gained no great glory in their career, but their men acquire, by these midnight excursions, nautical knowledge, which by degrees will prepare them to undertake with greater likelihood of success more important enterprises. They become more formidable every day they are allowed to keep the sea, for by practice they acquire confidence, which is the very soul of success. Let us hope the time is fast approaching when an opportunity will be offered of grappling with them. Then the Lord have mercy on them, for I trust we never will!"

The opportunity hoped for by Brock was granted to Nelson, who met and destroyed the French fleet at Trafalgar. Brock and Nelson were men of the same heroic temperament and patriotic feeling. Happily England has never in her hour of need lacked for men like them to defend her, or, if necessary, to die for her.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1811-1812.

THE fourth session of fifth Parliament was opened by the President Administrator, General Brock, at York, on the 3rd Feb., 1811, and prorogued on the 6th March following. In his address to the Houses General Brock adverted to the almost certain prospect of war being declared by the United States. He said:

"England is not only interdicted the harbours of the United States while they afford shelter to the cruisers of her inveterate enemy, but she is likewise required to resign those maritime rights which she has so long exercised and enjoyed. I cannot, under every view of the relative situation of the Province, be too urgent in recommending to your early attention the adoption of such measures as will best secure the internal peace of the country and defeat every hostile aggression. Principally composed of the sons of a loyal and brave band of veterans, the militia, I am confident, stand in need of nothing but the necessary legislative provisions to direct their ardour in the acquirement of military instruction to form a most efficient force. The growing prosperity of these Provinces, it is manifest, begins to awaken a spirit of envy and ambition. The acknowledged importance of this colony to the parent state will secure the continuance of her powerful protection."

The patriotic words of General Brock went straight to the hearts of the people, and in accordance with his recommendations flank companies of the local militia throughout the Province in every regiment were put under regular, frequent training in arms. These flank companies contributed a most effective strength and example in discipline to the main body of the militia when the time of need came upon us for action.

The people, used to a long peace and hoping even against hope that it would not be broken, did not generally believe that war was close at their doors—not until its actual declaration were they convinced that the wolf had come at last. But they were of a brave, fearless breed. They did not shrink from it; on the contrary, girded

up their loins everywhere for the death struggle. They knew the strength and vindictiveness of their enemy, but with the power of Britain to sustain them they were ready for any and every sacrifice —to spend their all; to live or die—rather than yield up their beloved country to the threatening invaders.

The people knew too well that many bad, disaffected men, chiefly among the American settlers, were to be found in their midst —men who would be sure to give aid and comfort to the enemy if allowed to do so. Still the general spirit of patriotism was so prevailing that none feared their machinations, and supported Brock energetically in the measures he took for the suppression of these internal foes—more hateful, if less to be feared, than the open enemy.

The session of Parliament opened by General Brock on the 27th July, 1812, and prorogued on the 5th August, was short and decisive in its proceedings. War had been declared by the United States on the 18th June, 1812, and Brock, anxious to proceed to the Niagara frontier to execute the imperative duties of his high office, desired the Parliament to repeal the *Habeas Corpus* Act. This measure was for a while opposed by some of the members on the plea that it distrusted the loyalty of the people—a foolish piece of false patriotism, because all knew as well as Brock that a number of malignant and seditious persons were to be found in certain districts of the Province who would beyond doubt aid the enemy if they dared to do so. The suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act was passed without further difficulty. It was at once put in force by Brock in the Niagara District, whither he came immediately on the prorogation of Parliament. The oath of allegiance was tendered to every suspected individual, and unless satisfactorily taken and security given for their loyal conduct every man of them was to be promptly arrested, and either imprisoned or given forty-eight hours to leave the Province and not to return.

The measure caused a quick removal of the disaffected element from Niagara—among them Wilcox the traitor and all his colleagues. His paper was suppressed, and Niagara had a sweep out of its vile calumnies and calumniators. The expulsion of such as refused to take the oath and give security was carried out in a generous spirit. Everyone had time to remove all his effects, and no one was personally

injured. Although the hand was iron, it wore a velvet glove. Go they must, but their banishment was made as easy as possible. The property of such as had property was sequestered, but not confiscated. Most of it was returned after the war to those who had not joined the enemy, and but a few were found in the latter category.

Messrs. Thomas, Dickson and Clark, merchants, took upon their own account measures for getting the first news of the declaration of war. They placed a relay of men and horses from Albany to Niagara. As soon as the news from Washington reached Albany these messengers rode night and day, relieving each other, until they came to Niagara, where the news was given to General Brock before it was known to the American garrison in Fort Niagara.

It so happened that the officers of the American garrison in Fort Niagara dined that day at the mess of the 41st Regiment, in Fort George, and while at dinner the exciting news was announced that war had been declared. The British officers insisted that the dinner should not be disturbed, and, in their soldier-like hospitality, at its close accompanied the American officers to their boats, and with shaking of hands and many good byes, which were reciprocated, the hosts and guests parted, to meet no more except in battle as enemies, made such by the reckless politicians of Washington, who cared only for their own personal and party ends.

Major Evans, left in command at Niagara when Brock went up to fight the enemy at Queenston, writes that he had three hundred political prisoners under guard at Niagara. As usual in such cases, the bad in the country were of varying degrees. Not many were utterly bad, but it was of importance to make sure of all who could not qualify as being loyal to the country.

With the declaration of war the Province was fully aroused. A few companies of regulars of the 49th and 41st were at Niagara, with the brigade of three regiments of Lincoln Militia, about 1000 men in all. From these, detachments were sent to Queenston, Chippawa and Fort Erie—a mere handful in comparison with the enemy's force gathering on the Niagara frontier.

General Brock had placed Niagara in as good a state of fortification as the level nature of the ground allowed to be done. He had thrown up a number of strong batteries along the lake front from

Fort George to the One Mile Creek, confronting the guns of Fort Niagara; also a strong battery on the river bank south of Fort George, called the half-moon battery; but his strongest work was the huge Cavalier bastion on the angle of Fort George, facing Fort Niagara. This was a work of some degree of pride to General Brock, as he was not an engineer, but his Cavalier bastion was a work of skill, and may be seen to this day. And it will be recollected that inside this bastion it was his fate to lie interred for the period of twelve years after his glorious death at Queenston, with his gallant aid-de-camp, McDonell.

Fort George was a strong work, surrounded with deep ditch and pickets. Its main gate fronted the town. It was mounted with heavy ordnance, and had barracks to accommodate a thousand men, but at the outbreak of the war it only had 300 regular troops inside its ramparts. General Brock in planning the defence of the Niagara frontier had determined as his first stroke to cross the river and seize and hold Fort Niagara. This would have given him the lever he saw was wanted for a successful defence; but, unfortunately, his plan of carrying the war into the enemy's country did not suit the inactive spirit of General Prevost, who was always for carrying on the war on peace principles—for war without hurting the enemy. He forbade Brock's bold scheme, and most of the after difficulties may be attributed to Prevost's ill-judged interference.

The time was unpropitious for disaffected men and traitors. Black lists of the suspected were in the hands of the military and civil authorities, and General Brock's orders were vigorously carried out with respect to them. It was known that a large force of the enemy was being collected on the frontier under General Van-Rensselaer.

The first stroke of the war was the capture of Michilimacinac by Col. McDonell. It was part of the general plan of defence devised by General Brock. That important fort up in the midst of the Indian country held them in check until it passed into the hands of the British. The surrender of its garrison opened the door to the northern tribes of Indians: Chippaways, Saultes, Winnebagoes, Crees, and others, who took the war path forthwith to strike for the King. Their services all through the war were of great value. The

very name of them was a terror to the Americans, as was shown by the surrender of Hull at Detroit under an abject fear of the Indians, who came with Brock to attack that fort.

The first invasion of the Province was by the army of General Hull, who crossed the river from Detroit with a force of 2,500 men. He took possession of Sandwich, and began at once to ravage the country. His most manifest action was the issuing of a proclamation to the people of Canada, announcing his arrival as a deliverer.

"No white man," said he, "found fighting by the side of an Indian will be taken prisoner—instant death will be his lot. The United States offer you peace, liberty and security. Your choice lies between these and war, slavery and destruction."

General Hull while penning these arrogant lines little thought that in a few days he would be a prisoner, with all his army and the whole territory of Michigan surrendered to General Brock and a comparative handful of white men and Indians.

General Brock was at York on the first receipt of news of General Hull's invasion. He at once crossed to Niagara; hastened with a few companies of the 41st to Long Point, where he was joined by two hundred and sixty militia, and rowed in boats up the shore of Lake Erie to Amerstburg, where he was joined by six hundred Indians under the renowned chief of the Shawnese, Tecumseth, and immediately consulted him as to the best mode of crossing the river and investing Detroit. General Hull, after an insignificant skirmish, had retired back to Detroit, where he awaited his antagonist, General Brock.

Tecumseth was a man after Brock's own heart—brave, decided, intelligent, and of a skill in Indian warfare never surpassed by any other Indian leader. At the first council of war held with General Brock, listening to his bold plans for the attack upon Detroit, Tecumseth was filled with admiration for the General, and raising both arms in the air as he turned to his chiefs he exclaimed with a loud voice: "This is a man!"

The crossing of Brock's small force over the river, with the advance of Tecumseth and his Indians upon Detroit; the terror of the garrison before the summons to surrender, and the capitulation of General Hull and his army, with the surrender of the whole of

Michigan, together with an army under Gen. Clay, on their march to relieve Detroit—these are all matters of history, and will not be recorded in these Annals.

Brock's sudden attack upon Detroit and his victory there was a stroke of military genius unparalleled during the war. The news of the surrender of General Hull's army came like a clap of thunder over the continent. It filled the American States with astonishment and doubt as to the easy conquest of Canada. In the Province its effects were equally great. It raised at once the spirits of the people, and showed them that victory belongs to the brave and daring who are devoted to the defence of their country. It inspired an invincible resolution that Canada could and would be defended at all odds against her enemies, be they many or more than report made them.

Brock foresaw that under the circumstances of this war nothing but an attack upon the invaders, instead of waiting to be attacked by them, would lead to success. He inspired the people with his own courage and resolve to conquer or die. Attack the invaders wherever possible was his watchword. No fear or delay must impede your march; if you try to measure too scrupulously the odds and wait for the enemy's attack, you and the country may be lost. Attack with resolution and confidence, and your cause is won.

These sentiments inspired all who came in contact with Brock. Attack! Attack! became the policy of all the British commanders during the war. At Queenston, Stony Creek, Beech Woods, Fort Niagara, Crysler's Farm, Chateauguay, Lundy's Lane—everywhere—the British arms were successful, because everywhere they attacked the enemy, and almost everywhere defeated them.

The Ohio militia and the Kentucky troops, under General Clay, were paroled and allowed to return to their homes. General Hull and the United States regulars were sent to Niagara, and from there embarked on vessels and sent as prisoners of war to Quebec. This was the first instalment of a surrendered army shipped to Quebec from Niagara. A second surrendered army was soon to follow it, from the Heights of Queenston.

CHAPTER XXV.

1812.

THE First Lincoln Militia was at the beginning of the war commanded by Colonel Thomas Butler, son of Colonel John Butler of the Rangers of the Revolution. He died during the winter of 1812, when the command of the regiment was given to Colonel Wm. Claus, who also commanded the Brigade of Lincoln Militia consisting of three regiments of about 300 men each. The first company of the 1st Regiment, which included the men of Niagara, was under the command of Captain John D. Servos. His two brothers, Lieut. Wm. Servos and Ensign Daniel Servos, were in other companies of the same regiment. The men of the Lincoln brigade were nearly all U. E. Loyalists, farmers of the township, full of zeal, courage and confidence in themselves and leaders.

The large American army collecting on the Niagara frontier was every day reported to the officers at Niagara and known in the town.

They were greatly relieved when General Brock arrived from Detroit to take charge of their defence. He had placed Colonel Proctor in command at Detroit, with all the force that could be spared to defend the fort and territory. Proctor appointed magistrates and made good regulations for the peace and well-being of the people, who, mostly French Canadians, had no objection whatever to exchange American for British rule, which latter had only been given up sixteen years before. They welcomed its return heartily for the period it lasted.

Brock placed his few troops to the best advantage in points of the frontier, not sure where the threatened attack would show itself. He suspected it would be at Queenston. He placed a small force with one piece of cannon on the heights, and a larger force in the village at the foot of the mountain. The American militia swarmed on the

opposite frontier at all points, and kept up an incessant firing of muskets and rifles across the river.

An attack was evidently impending. The people were calm and expectant and prepared for the struggle. Many buried their valuables in the ground, or took them out to the care of friends in the country. The ranks of the militia filled up, while the loyal spirited women took charge of the work on the farms and encouraged the men on the front by their patriotic conduct.

The American army of invasion, after some desultory movements, gathered in all their force at Lewiston, and on the early morn of the 13th October, 1812, commenced to embark in boats to cross the river to Queenston. The British force at Queenston in the beginning of the attack were two companies of the 49th and the 1st Lincoln Militia, about four hundred in all, which were increased during the day to about twelve hundred. The enemy had between 4,000 and 5,000 men, of whom 1,500 were regulars, the rest State militia and volunteers, all under the command of Gen. VanRensselaer, Gen. Wadsworth, Cols. Scott, Wool, Christie, and others.

General Brock was roused before daylight by the sound of cannon—a gun on the river bank commanded by Capt. John C. Ball of the Provincial Artillery. As soon as the boats were visible on the river Captain Ball poured a destructive fire upon them, sinking some, and by the report of his firing awoke Brock at Niagara. Captain Ball lived at what is now Virgil, in the township of Niagara.

Captain Ball's services on this occasion deserve a special mention. In a letter written to me in 1853, by Colonel McDougal of Niagara, who survived after receiving thirteen wounds at Lundy's Lane, Colonel McDougal wrote as follows about Captain Ball:

"John C. Ball, late warden of these Counties of Lincoln and Welland, was a captain in the Provincial Artillery, who, at the break of day on the morning of the 13th October, 1812, under a heavy cannonade from the enemy's shore, judiciously planted his field piece on the margin of the river over the flats at Queenston, and coolly and steadily poured his grape and cannister shot into the invaders' boats as they approached the British shore, and sent many back disabled, and some thrown adrift down the stream without a hand to steer them; and who, in the afternoon of that day, was found on the Heights with his gun, gallantly pursuing the foe until he surrendered to an army far less numerous than the prisoners taken. Such a man is John C. Ball."

On the 13th the enemy opened fire with red hot shot from Fort Niagara upon the town, setting many houses on fire, which the people put out. An aged ex-officer of the Rangers, Capt. Fry, was struck by a ball and killed on King Street. Colonel Evans opened fire from Fort George upon Fort Niagara, and eventually silenced their batteries.

At dawn of day General Brock was in the saddle and rode full gallop, accompanied by his aid-de-camp McDonell and orderly, to Queenston, which he reached just after daylight. The enemy had got upon the Heights by a foot path on the side of the mountain, and had driven the outpost down into the village, where they were hastily disembarking their troops. The British, at the lower end of the village, opposed them vigorously. They cheered Brock, and were eager to be led against the enemy, who ascended the Heights as soon as they landed, with the intention of fighting Brock there instead of in the village.

Brock saw the whole position at a glance, and resolved to recapture the Heights before the whole of the enemy's force had got up, and without waiting for the troops under General Sheaffe to reinforce him—a bold plan which, had he lived to carry it out, might have resulted in victory. He had, however, but a handful of troops at the moment: A company of the 49th and the York Volunteers and Lincoln Militia. He ordered them to charge up the Heights, and led them at once against the enemy, who were formed in line on the upper terrace of the mountain. Brock and his aid-de-camp rode in front of his few troops. He last order was: "Push on, York Volunteers!" when he fell under a full volley fired from the enemy's line. A ball pierced his breast, and he fell mortally wounded. The gallant McDonell was nearly at the same time struck by a ball, and fell near his commander.

Brock was instantly picked up by some of his soldiers of the 49th and carried down the hill to a thorn tree in the village, under the shade of which he expired, uttering some half articulate message for his sister. McDonell lived a day longer than his chief, but he too died of his wounds.

The British troops retired to the lower part of the village to

await the reinforcement from Niagara under General Sheaffe, who succeeded Brock in the command.

The body of General Brock was carried into a small house close by the tree under which he expired. As the enemy advanced rapidly down the hill, the body had to be left in the house for the time, but his uniform was taken off so that the enemy might not recognize it. Brock was not recognized, and in the return of the British troops in the afternoon the body was taken possession of again.

General Sheaffe on his arrival at once led the troops by a detour up the mountain in order to attack the enemy on the Heights, where he was joined by the detachments of regulars and militia from Chippawa and the Twelve Mile Creek, and the Indians under John Brant and Wm. Kerr.

The Americans were in a bad plight on the arrival of General Sheaffe's forces. The militia and volunteers of VanRensselaer were frightened at the sight and reports of the wounded men brought back in boats from the battle field, and refused to obey all orders of their officers to cross over to Canada. Half the American army remained paralyzed with fear and mutiny at Lewiston, while their fellows were being attacked by General Sheaffe.

The battle on the Heights was short and soon decided. The enemy's lines were charged by the British and Indians. They instantly broke and being followed by the Indians with yells—"As if all hell had broke loose," as one of them described—many of them were pushed over the river bank, a tremendous precipice four hundred feet high, and were miserably killed or hung in the bushes. Their commanding officers, seeing all was lost, raised the white flag and surrendered the whole army, over 900 men, prisoners of war. They were promptly marched down to Niagara, where they were placed in vessels, and in a few days shipped to Quebec.

Captain Garrett of the 49th, for many years afterwards an inhabitant of Niagara, received the swords of the officer prisoners. The loss of the British at Queenston did not exceed one hundred men—killed, wounded and missing. The American loss in killed, wounded and prisoners was about two thousand. But then General Brock's death was an offset for thousands.

The grief of the country at the death of Brock overpowered the

joy of the victory. All felt it was bought at too great a price. Still there was the one consoling thought: Brock, by his heroic example, the Governor of the Province, had shown the way to victory, and put such a spirit into all hearts that henceforth Canada could and would be successfully defended.

The spot where Brock fell was on the first terrace above the turn of the road at the upper end of the village. He was tenderly carried down the hill and laid under a thorn tree, still standing at the place marked by the small obelisk, which shows where he died, not where he was wounded, which was much nearer the enemy. The weather at the time of the battle was cold and the roads deep in mud. On the next morning the dead lying on the ground were covered with snow, which had fallen during the night.

The wounded on both sides were brought down in boats and wagons to Niagara. St. Mark's church, the Government House and Indian council house were turned into hospitals. All were kindly and tenderly cared for. The body of General Brock was brought down and lay in state in the Government House, where hundreds of people came to take their last look on the face of their beloved Governor.

The sixteenth of October was a day of mourning in Niagara. Its streets were crowded as never before with people from all parts—men, women and children—in mourning habiliments, and many in tears, for all felt they had lost their truest friend, who had died in their defence and given his life for the victory which had saved their country.

All the troops, regulars and militia, formed with reversed arms on the street opposite Government House, and all flags were at half-mast. The mournful strains of the Dead march filled the air with sadness as the procession moved on towards Fort George, where salutes of cannon greeted the body, which were answered by salutes from the batteries of Fort Niagara, the enemy thus joining in the honours paid to the dead warrior, whose merits all conceded. Thousands of people, men and women, dressed in the best mourning they had, followed in a long column, that reached from the town almost to the gates of Fort George.

The following is the Order of the day, 16th October, for the funeral of General Brock :

FORT GEORGE, Oct. 16, 1812.

The procession for the funerals of the late Major-General Brock and Lt.-Colonel McDonell will be arranged in the following order, and will leave Government House for the place of interment at 1 o'clock this day :

Fort Major Campbell.
60 men of the 41st Regt., with one subaltern.
60 men of the Militia, with one captain.
Two six-pounders.
Corps and detachments of the garrison.
Band, 41st Regt.
General's horse, caparisoned, led by his groom.
Servants of the General.
Surgeon Moon. Dr. Kerr.
Staff Surgeon Thorn.
Chaplain.
Body of Lt.-Col. McDonell.
Chief Mourner McDonell, Esq.

Capt. A. Cameron.	L. Jervis.
Lt. Robinson.	Lt. Ridout.
Josh. Edwards, Esq.	Capt. Crooks.
Mr. Dickson.	Capt. Cameron.

Body of Major-General Brock.

Chief Mourners :

Major-General Sheaffe.
Ens. Coffin, A. D. C.
Lt.-Col. Myers.
Lieut. Fowler, 41st Regt.

Supporters :

Col. Claus, Militia.	Col. Butler, Militia.
Major Merritt, Drg.	Capt. Holcroft, R. A.
Captain Dennis, 49th.	Capt. Powell Martin.
Capt. Vigoreux, R. E.	Capt. Glegg.

Brigade-Major Evans.

Civil Staff.
Friends of the deceased.
Inhabitants.

The officers will wear crape on their left arm and on their sword knots, and all officers throughout the Province will wear crape on their left arm for the space of one month. Capt. Holcroft will be pleased to direct that minute guns will be fired from the period of the body leaving Government House until its arrival at the place of interment, and also after the funeral service shall have been performed three rounds of seven guns from the artillery.

By order.
Signed, THOMAS EVANS,
Brigade-Major.

Such was the programme for the greatest funeral that ever took place in Niagara, when in the Cavalier bastion of Fort George were laid the bodies of General Brock and his gallant aid-de-camp, McDonell. General Sheaffe succeeded to the command, and the order in which he commended the militia for their gallant services deserves preservation here:

Militia District Orders.

HEADQUARTERS,
FORT GEORGE, 1st Nov., 1812.

Major-General Sheaffe has witnessed with the highest satisfaction the manly and cheerful spirit with which the militia on this frontier have borne the privations which present circumstances have imposed on them. He hopes, however, to be soon enabled by the arrival of the liberal supplies ordered from the Lower Province to furnish them with articles which in contributing essentially to their comfort will afford him peculiar gratification, for he cannot but feel that this conduct entitles them to every attention he can bestow on them. It has furnished examples of the best characteristics of the soldier: manly constancy under fatigue and privation, and determined bravery when opposed to the enemy. By a perseverance in the exercise of those noble qualities they may be assured of accomplishing the glorious task in which they are engaged.

The armistice will shortly be terminated, and an attack is to be expected immediately after its expiration, but Major-General Sheaffe is confident that any attempt to make any impression on a frontier defended by such men cannot succeed, that it will only heap new disgrace and disaster on the enemy and add fresh laurels to those which have already been acquired by the brave militia on the frontier.

Major-General Sheaffe directs that officers commanding corps or detachments shall make a report of those individuals under their command who particularly distinguish themselves by their meritorious conduct.

The attention of officers commanding corps and detachments is called to the issue of them. It is to be reported through the proper channels for the Major-General's information. By order,

THOMAS EVANS.

Historians have not given adequate credit to the brilliant campaign of General Brock, which was really a proof of military genius of the highest order. Such rapid and successful strokes at the enemy have been rarely recorded. In six weeks he attacked with greatly inferior numbers a strong, fortified post, and captured two armies two hundred and fifty miles apart. His death did not stop the career of victory. His example filled the people with such hope and confidence that the safety of the Province was assured.

Colonel Proctor, whom he left in command in Michigan, had a

brilliant series of successes in the winter of 1812-13. He also received the surrender of two American generals and their armies—Clay, in Ohio; Wilkinson, at the River Raisin. Gen. Wilkinson and his army were brought down to Newark. Gen. Clay and his force were paroled and allowed to return home.

Such a succession of disasters demoralized the war party in the States. Proctor's campaign in Michigan was most creditable. Nothing but the fewness—a few hundred only of regulars and militia, and the defection of nearly all his Indians, who left him after the action of River Raisin to carry off their plunder—could have driven him out of Michigan. The failure of the naval operations on Lake Erie compelled him to re-cross the river. The subsequent defeat of his few remaining troops by Harrison with an overwhelming force, is generally placed to the discredit of Proctor, but the stand made at the Thames was really forced by Tecumseth and the Indians, and wholly against the judgment of Colonel Proctor. Defeat was inevitable, but it wiped out of the minds of uncandid critics the merit of the great services he had done in Michigan and Ohio.

A mystery shrouds the death of the gallant Tecumseth. He was killed, as generally reported, by the hands of Colonel Johnson, who commanded the Kentucky cavalry at the Thames. I heard Colonel Johnson acknowledge the fact in Cincinnati in about 1837. The reason Tecumseth's body was never found after the action was because it was cut in pieces by the Kentuckians, who afterwards publicly boasted of the foul deed done to one of the noblest red men ever lived.

The Americans, a few weeks after the battle of Queenston, collected a large army of 8,000 men and 15 pieces of cannon at Buffalo, under General Smythe, and another invasion was daily expected. Smythe equalled Hull in pompous proclamations, in which he pledged himself "in ten days to plant the American flag in Canada," and notified the commandant of Fort Niagara "not to destroy Fort George or the buildings in Newark, as he wanted them for quarters for his troops."

Smythe did send an advance force over the river near Fort Erie in December, but they were so roughly handled by Colonel Cecil Bishop and Colonels Kirby and Powell with a few regulars of the 49th and

the Lincoln Militia, that they incontinently fled back to their own shores, losing half their numbers. The Niagara frontier was comparatively unmolested for the rest of the winter.

The work of ridding the district of traitors and disaffected went on vigorously, but not harshly, during the winter. Most of them were banished or left of their own accord. Many of the latter were changing their tone and professing loyal principles, some of them sincerely, after the success of General Brock.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1813.

THE war party in Congress, maddened by the series of defeats which began to damage their political power, put forth every effort they were capable of to embody new armies for the invasion of Canada at every point from Montreal to Sandwich, while a war of mutual recriminations went on among themselves over the cause of their failures on the Canadian frontier.

In Canada the militia training went on vigorously, and the Niagara posts were strengthened by the arrival of detachments of the 41st and 8th King's Regiment, but were still greatly inferior in numbers to the armies of the enemy preparing for the campaign of 1813.

The spring opened inauspiciously for Canada. In May of that year a large fleet under Commodore Chauncey, and a force of 2,000 select troops under General Pike, sailed from Sackett's Harbour for York, the capital of Upper Canada, which was defended by only seven hundred regulars and militia under General Sheaffe. The enemy effected a landing in spite of a gallant resistance, and were led against the fort, which, as they were entering, blew up with a terrific explosion, in which General Pike and a number of his troops were killed. The British loss had been severe, and in face of the superior numbers of the enemy General Sheaffe ordered the British troops to retire towards Kingston, and left the town in the hands of the enemy, to be surrendered by the civic authorities. On the 8th of May the Americans evacuated York, after destroying and burning the government buildings, the library and shipyard, with immense damage done to private property. The enemy returned to Sackett's Harbour and joined the troops in camp there.

An attack upon Newark and Fort George was at once ordered, and General Dearborn embarked with 8,000 men on board the fleet

of Commodore Chauncey, and on the 27th May appeared off the mouth of the Niagara River with about 100 vessels—ships of war and transports.

The 27th May was unfortunate for Newark. A very dense fog covered the lake but not the land, concealing the enemy but exposing the British troops drawn up in line upon the common from the Two Mile Creek to Point Mississaugua. A heavy fire of red hot shot was opened on the town from Fort Niagara, and fire broke out in many quarters, distracting the attention of the inhabitants, who tried to extinguish the flames. The women and children had been sent into the country for safety.

The fleet formed abreast of the common, which is a level plain on top of the bank of the lake some forty feet above it, but at the Two Mile Creek not over ten feet above the lake level. The troops in Newark consisted of a detachment of the 8th or King's Regiment, a few companies of the 41st and the brigade of Lincoln Militia under Col. Claus, about 1,100 men in all. The fleet opened fire on the troops on the bank, who for a long time resisted their landing in hundreds of boats. The enemy's fire was kept up until the defenders had lost over 300 men, killed and wounded. The 8th Regiment stood their ground until they lost 200 out of 310, and the Glengarries 73 out of 108. The Lincoln Militia lost heavily. It was a most brave defence, but the disparity in force made courage unavailing. General Vincent, the commander of the British troops, ordered a retreat, and also that Fort George be evacuated and the troops to retire by the river road to Queenston and thence to Burlington, leaving the town in the hands of the enemy, who immediately marched in and took possession.

The American General Dearborn fell sick, and left the town and Fort George to the control of Generals Winder and Chandler. The inhabitants had nearly all left it. The magistrates and civil officers were gone. The empty houses were occupied by the enemy. The Rev. Dr. Addison of St. Mark's stood to his sacred charge, but his religious services in public were necessarily suspended. His beautiful church had been turned into a storehouse for the enemy's flour, pork and whiskey, and the headquarters of their commissariat. Traces of their ravages in the churchyard are still discernable in the hacked and desecrated tombs of the dead.

The women and children and some old men returned to their homes, which they found generally occupied by soldiers. The fort and barracks did not afford quarters for the half of the army. The rest lived in private houses and in tents. The stores of the merchants were occupied by a horde of sutlers, who supplied the army. A mob of camp followers and thieves were ravenous to prey upon the goods and chattels of the inhabitants. A number of runaway traitors returned, among them Wilcox, who, with Mallory, Markle and other kindred spirits, organized a troop of cavalry to plunder the farm houses in the district and act as guides and scouts for the enemy's army.

The killed on the British side, militiamen largely, were allowed to be taken away by their relatives in the country and buried in the family burying places on their farms; many were buried on the lake bank where they fell, and some in St. Mark's churchyard. It was a sad day for Newark, and worse days were to follow during this unfortunate year.

The British forces retired from Niagara to Burlington and occupied the isthmus, which they fortified as well as time admitted. They expected the enemy to follow them, and prepared to encounter them.

The American Army, in great force, left Niagara on the 1st of June, and took up their line of march for Burlington, expecting either to annihilate the small British force or at least to drive them from their position. Nothing less than a complete victory was counted on. Their army unmolested reached Stony Creek. On the sixth June when they encamped for the night they had three thousand men, with artillery, under the command of Generals Winder and Chandler.

The British commander, General Vincent, with his efficient aids, Colonels Harvey and Murray, held council together, and considering the great force of the enemy, about three to one, resolved to make a night attack on the enemy's camp. Colonel Harvey personally reconnoitered their position, and saw how it might be done. A select force of regulars of the 8th and 49th Regiments was ordered to lead the attack, together with a few Indians and militia to follow them—about 800 in all. The troops marched in the very dark of

night from Burlington, and before the first dawn of day they reached and charged with fixed bayonets upon the enemy's camp. With shouts and yells they dashed into the camp, as an American described it, "As if all hell had broke loose," a phrase common in the American camps when describing the attack and onslaught of the British troops upon them.

The surprise was complete. The enemy made a wild defence, but were routed, killed or taken prisoners on all sides. Generals Winder and Chandler were both taken, and the whole camp gutted and guns captured. The enemy fled in dismay and confusion—some down the road they had come, some took to the woods, where the Indians and militia encountered them. They were panic stricken, and did not stop in their flight until they reached Newark. It was a common saying that it took them four days to march up to Stony Creek, and but one day for them to get back to Newark after their defeat.

The British now advanced towards Newark and occupied the whole country to within four miles of the town. The Americans were hemmed in, or if any party of them ventured beyond their lines they were attacked by the people, even by women, who took up arms to oppose them, such was the spirit evoked by the rout of Stony Creek.

Captain FitzGibbon of the 49th held an advance post at the Beaver Dams, consisting of about forty men, which collected supplies for the British, and at the same time harassed the American outposts and pickets. So troublesome and active was FitzGibbon in this duty that the American commander in Niagara found it necessary to send a column of troops to attack FitzGibbon's post at the Beaver Dams and drive off or destroy him.

Accordingly, on the night of the 23rd June, 1813, a strong body of American troops, consisting of the 14th U. S. Infantry and some troops of cavalry, with two guns, under the command of Colonel Boerstler, a very active and loud voiced officer, who could be heard across the river as the boast was, were ordered to march to the Beaver Dams. Their march was a secret one. They passed the night at Queenston, and while there a wounded militia man named James Secord, who was suffering from a wound received at Queenston

on the 13th Oct. previous, learned the object of the night march and resolved to send word to FitzGibbon to warn him of the intended attack on his post. Secord could not go himself, but his wife, a loyal, noble woman, volunteered to go and inform FitzGibbon of his danger.

Mrs. Laura Secord, whose name is ever held in reverence by Canadians, started on her journey of many miles through woods and across creeks and bye roads, deep in mud, for it was an exceptionally rainy season. After toiling on through obstacles enough to daunt any man or woman, she suddenly encountered a party of Indians, who roughly demanded who she was and what she wanted? She made the chief understand that she wanted to go to FitzGibbon. They consented to show her the way. She reached his post and told him the particulars of the American troops on their way to attack him. FitzGibbon heartily thanked her, made her rest herself, and made preparations to receive the enemy. Suddenly a loud firing at a distance in the Beechwoods made it clear that the Americans had fallen in with the Caughnawaga Indians under Lorimier and Decharme. A fierce fight ensued in the woods, where the Indians ambushed the enemy, and in an hour drove them from the woods into an open field where they assaulted the enemy front and rear.

FitzGibbon and his company of the 49th hastened to the scene of conflict and found the American troops in a panic, clustered together in the field. They were ready to surrender, but feared the Indian tomahawk. As soon as FitzGibbon arrived with his redcoats they were willing to listen to a summons he sent them to surrender, and after a brief parley the whole force, with their commander, the 14th Regiment with their colours, two guns and the cavalry, some 700 in all, gave themselves up to Captain FitzGibbon prisoners of war, and were sent under guard to Burlington.

This second defeat of the invaders cowed them thoroughly, and for the rest of the summer the Americans kept within their lines round the town, which extended from McFarland's on the river bank to the cross roads and Four Mile Creek to the lake shore, but the cross roads were soon in the hands of the British, and Colonel Murray and Colonel Harvey had their headquarters on the left of the Four Mile Creek on Servos's and Rev. Dr. Addison's farms on the Lake road.

Of all the subalterns of the British Army in Canada, Captain

FitzGibbon was the most distinguished for enterprise, skill and success against the enemy. He was General Brock's favorite officer, and well deserved the confidence Brock placed in him. He was a man of fine presence, great strength and activity. He was permitted to organize a company of select men out of his regiment to serve on the outposts and as scouts, and many gallant exploits are recorded of him, as when he took two American soldiers with his own hand and brought them in prisoners at the Falls, being attacked by both with loaded rifles. Wherever a bold stroke was needed FitzGibbon never failed to be there.

His character as a man and citizen after the war stood high. He was many years Adjutant-General of the Militia of Upper Canada, and to him was given in charge the task of fighting the rebels at Gallows Hill, under McKenzie, in 1837, a job which he put through thoroughly and quickly. He was a man of great mental force and a graceful writer, devoting his declining years to work for the education of children, for FitzGibbon was as kind and benevolent a man as ever wore the royal red, and loved little children ardently. Colonel FitzGibbon was one of the Knights of Windsor, and he died in Windsor Castle full of years and honours.

The unfortunate town of Newark remained all the summer and fall in the hands of the Americans. It was deserted of nearly all its proper inhabitants except women and children, and some old men who returned to their homes, which, however, were generally occupied by American troops. The traitors who had been expelled by General Brock returned in numbers—Major Mallory, an ex-member of the Assembly; Wilcox, another. These men organized a troop of cavalry, with themselves as principal officers, and filled up the ranks with such traitors as they found in Canada and a lot of bummers and marauders whom they enlisted in Buffalo, and called their gang "Canadian Volunteers."

Their services generally were plundering the farm houses, murdering the loyal inhabitants in the district, and acting as guides to the enemy, for, knowing the roads, they were able to do that service.

A troop of Loyal Canadian Volunteers were formed to put a stop to the depredations of those miscreants. Captain William Hamilton Merritt, of St. Catharines, who for many years after repre-

sented the county of Lincoln in Parliament, commanded this loyal troop. He followed up the rebels wherever they went and took many of them prisoners, a number of whom were tried, convicted and hanged. Captain Merritt and his troop were so active in catching them that at last they dared not go out of the American lines. Still they were a curse and trouble, as traitors always are, until the battle of Lundy's Lane in 1814, when they were annihilated. Mallory fled to the United States, his native country; Wilcox was shot near Fort Erie; on the 20th July, five days before the battle of Lundy's Lane, seven of them were hanged at Ancaster by order of General Drummond, and eight more condemned to death were sent to Quebec to receive the penalty of their sentence.

In 1813 the traitors held high revel in the town of Newark, countenanced and supported by the American Generals. Wilcox murdered an American named Lockwood, who lived on Queen street opposite the present court house. Wilcox had insulted Lockwood's wife. The man resented it, and Wilcox shot him dead. The civil law was suspended. Wilcox was a friend and companion of General McClure, who refused any inquiry into the matter, so Wilcox went scot free.

Colonels Murray and Harvey in command of the advance of the British troops surrounded the lines of the American Army, and pressed them so closely that their only outlet was the river and Fort Niagara, whence they drew all their supplies. On the 7th July a severe skirmish was fought by the outposts of the two armies at Ball's farm, a mile and-a-half from the town. Colonel Harvey sent a force of Indians and militia to bring in a medicine chest that had been buried at a spot within the American lines on Corus's farm. A severe fight took place between the British and American Indians, many being killed on both sides. The medicine chest was recovered, and the British, having effected their object, returned to their outpost at the cross roads, one and-a-half miles off.

This trivial affair was trumpeted throughout the United States as a great victory. The pressure on the American lines by Colonel Murray continued, and was closer than ever.

An incident of this skirmish may be recorded, as showing a woman's devotion to her children in the face of great danger.

Captain John Law, of the 1st Lincoln Militia, had been severely wounded, and his son William, a promising young man, killed, at the defence of Newark, on the 27th May. Captain Law, wounded mortally, was nevertheless held as a prisoner, and sent to Flat Bush, N. Y., where he died of his wound. His widow, Mrs. Law, well-known to the writer, was at Ball's farm house with her little son John, eleven years old, watching the battle going on. The boy, animated by a spirit of patriotism and revenge for the loss of his father and elder brother, left his mother unseen, and, getting possession of a musket and box of cartridges, ran down to the very front line of Indians and joined them in a hot fire upon the enemy close by, to the wonder and admiration of the red warriors. He brought down some of the enemy.

Mrs. Law soon missed her child, and learned that he had gone down to the battle. The mother, in anguish at the recent deaths of husband and elder son, was in despair at the thought of losing her youngest also. Without a fear of danger she instantly ran down to the front of the line of fire, receiving a ball in her leg on the way, but it did not disable her. She ran on, and presently discovered her boy firing away with the best of them. She bade him return at once, but the lad said he would not until he had fired off all his cartridges, whereupon his mother caught him up in her arms and carried him by force out of the fight, her leg streaming with blood all the way. The lad was unhurt. The boy had shot several Yankees, he said, and could hardly be restrained from returning to the battle. About fifty Indians were killed on each side in this skirmish.

After this engagement at Ball's farm the town was comparatively quiet. The enemy's attention was wholly taken up with the attempt against Montreal by the large armies—one under the command of General Wilkinson, by way of the St. Lawrence, and the other under Hampton, by way of Lake Champlain.

The defeat of Winchester's army at Chrysler's farm, and the defeat of Hampton's at Chateauguay, will not be more than mentioned here, but the withdrawal of many of the troops from Niagara disabled the enemy from more than just retaining possession of Fort George and the town, while the country remained free from molestation by the enemy.

After the defeat of Colonel Proctor at the Thames, General Harrison came down to Niagara, where he held command for a short time. A respectable, good man, he permitted no unnecessary oppression of the few loyal inhabitants who remained. He left, to be replaced in the fall of 1813 by General McClure, a man of quite another stamp—mercenary and cruel, who at once became the chosen friend and ally of Wilcox, and a fitting instrument for the brutal secretary of war, Armstrong. General Harrison had come down from Detroit with 1,000 men, with intention to attack Burlington. His intention failed, after some vain attempts of Chauncey's fleet to convey him to Burlington. He finally went away with his troops to Sackett's Harbour, and did not further act at Newark. He did, however, recommend Wilcox to the patronage of the American Government as a man very useful to counteract the machinations of the enemy, and encourage the friends of the Americans in the district. General Harrison did not know much about the people of Niagara District when he took Wilcox under his wing in his designs against the town. The army of occupation was continually watched and kept within their lines round Fort George, in a limit within three miles round the town. The unfortunate farmers inside their lines were pillaged without mercy. Every farm, nearly, was abandoned, except by the women.

No supplies of provisions were brought into the town. The garrison had to depend on provisions brought over from Fort Niagara, while the sutlers, who had occupied the stores in the town, sold at a high price food to the inhabitants who had money to buy with. The privation and distress were very great among the people, who had been used to plenty, but worse had yet to come upon them and upon the unfortunate town.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1813.

THE town of Newark was well built at that time. It contained upwards of three hundred houses and buildings of all kinds, many large stores, for the town had been the main place for the wholesale trade of western Upper Canada. Much wealth had been accumulated there, and large, elegant residences, some of brick and stone, were to be seen among the plain but comfortable homes of wood—houses which had been built by the government officials when Newark was the seat of government, and occupied afterwards by the officials of the district courts and military staffs. There were two churches—St. Mark's, of stone, and St. Andrew's, of wood—both large structures; many hotels and workshops of various trades, carpenters and blacksmiths, and a large brewery. The government house and court house were large, handsome structures. The gaol had been burnt in the bombardment of the town some months previous.

Butler's barracks stood where they are now. The streets, broad and at right angles, are the same as at this date. King and Queen streets, with Prideaux street and Ridout street and Front street, were the principal thoroughfares. The business streets were King, Queen and Prideaux streets. Gate street, what is now Victoria street, Johnson street, Mississaugua, Simcoe and about the ferry were also much built on. The population before the war had been about 1,500—exclusive of the troops in Fort George and Butler's barracks, which generally amounted to between 600 and 1,000 men. A good public library, founded about 1800, was in the town. The registry office contained all the legal documents of land grants, transfers, wills, and the records of the courts of law. The books in the library had been prudently removed a few days before the town was taken by the enemy.

The British troops under Colonel Murray pressed the enemy every day within narrower limits, until the American advance piquets were only a mile outside the town—from McFarlane's on the River road to Courtland Secord's on the Lake road. Winter was drawing near, and the American commander saw clearly that if his army remained in Newark until the river became impassable from floating ice, as always happens for periods during the winter, his army would be entrapped without a chance of escape and be compelled to surrender. The total defeat of the two expeditions against Montreal had rendered relief of their troops in Newark out of the question. Nothing but a timely withdrawal from the town could save them from the British, now within musket shot of Fort George. The American Secretary of War Armstrong sent pressing orders to General McClure to evacuate the town and Fort George and retire across the river, with instructions to burn the town so that the British would not find quarters in it during the winter. Secretary Armstrong's instructions to McClure were conveyed in the following words:

Oct. 4th, 1813.

Understanding that the post committed to your charge may render it proper to destroy the town of Newark, you are hereby directed to apprise its inhabitants of this circumstance, and to invite them to remove their effects to some place of greater safety. I am,

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

The order was cruel and unnecessary for any military object. In fact it seems to have been dictated in a spirit of revenge for defeat rather than anything else.

The order, however, was not unacceptable to General McClure, and filled with pleasure the traitorous breast of Wilcox, his friend and adviser. Some of the American officers saw the sacrifice of honour in such an act, and the retaliation which it would surely draw after it.

Colonel Chapin of the American Army and General McClure had a violent quarrel over the order in the sutler's store of John McCarthy on Queen street, where McLellan's store now stands. Chapin opposed the burning of the town, but McClure was inexorable. Wilcox, who had his private grudges against the people who scorned his treason and practices, also urged on the burning of the

town. This was on the 12th December. The next day was the 13th—a day of ill omen—for Newark; a heavy snow had fallen, and the weather was very cold. Word was sent round the town in the morning to order people to get out of their houses, with their effects, as the town would be burnt in the afternoon.

The order came like the stroke of doom upon the wretched inhabitants, most of whom were women, children and old, feeble men. Some would not believe that such an order would be executed, and failed to remove their furniture into the street. Many did so, and the streets were piled up with furniture and other effects, while the poor people stood or sat among them in the snow. There were probably four hundred people living in the town at this time.

At one o'clock noon the burning party of two or three companies of soldiers marched from Fort George, with torches and lanterns lit, to set the houses on fire as they proceeded through the town. At the head of the burning party rode McClure and Wilcox, and directed the men into different streets, where the houses were fired in rotation. In half an hour the town was a sea of fire. The furniture in the streets was most of it burnt up—government house, the churches, schools, court house, shops, private dwellings—all went up together in fire and smoke.

Colonel Murray's troops saw the conflagration and rushed forward to save the town and cut off the enemy's escape across the river. A hot fight took place with the piquets, but Fort George and the barracks had been evacuated and the troops had got across the river before Murray forced his way into the town. He saved Butler's barracks, and that was all. The firing of the town was simultaneous in all quarters and so hastily was it done that the sutlers in the stores, John McCarthy among them, had not time to remove their goods. All were burnt up—the American's commissariat and all. Fifteen hundred tents were left standing, which they had not time to carry away.

The sufferings of the people thus turned out in the snow, with their houses burned and no provisions or clothing, may be imagined. Some were in sick beds, women in child-birth, men old and helpless—no one was spared—all were left in the street by the flying enemy who, having done this foul, cowardly act, hastened to get

over the river to escape the avenging swords of Murray and Harvey, who rushed into the burning town and got to the head of Queen street with their troops as the last of the fugitives embarked to cross over to Fort Niagara. The people of the country were profoundly touched by the cruelties inflicted upon the inhabitants of the town. They came with sleighs and removed all of them to the farm houses in the townships, where they were tenderly cared for until the hard time was over.

The sight of the smoking ruins of the beautiful town and the terrible distress of the inhabitants drew tears from the eyes of many of the rough soldiers of the British troops, and vows of revenge were made, which in a few days were carried out. Butler's barracks and Fort George were at once re-occupied. The enemy had not damaged the fort much on leaving it, only spiked and overturned the guns, which were soon set right again. Colonel Murray resolved to follow up the enemy by an attack on Fort Niagara, but had to defer it until the 16th, and then until the 19th December, until all his boats were got together for crossing the river.

The destruction of the houses and of much private property belonging to the inhabitants was great, and to most of them it was all they had in the world. The Honorable William Dickson had a fine residence well furnished, and with a library of books, lately purchased in England, worth from $4,000 to $5,000. All were committed to the flames. Mrs. Dickson, ill in bed, was set out in the snow, and looked on while her home was consumed. Her husband, one of the foremost gentlemen in Upper Canada, had been seized and with a number of other loyal Canadians carried as prisoners over the river and placed in the dungeon of Fort Niagara, where they were found and happily released when the fort was stormed, a week after the burning of the town.

This act of incendiarism of the town did not evoke any feeling in the United States at first. It was when the terrible retaliation followed it that people in the States began to denounce the administration at Washington as the cause of it and loss of political support impressed such fears upon the war party, that some were found bold enough to denounce their conduct of the war.

St. Mark's church, full of flour, pork, whiskey and other

commissariat stores, was burnt in the general conflagration, also St. Andrew's church. The Rev. Dr. Addison, rector of St. Mark's, so long as his home was within the American lines gave his spiritual services to all alike, friends or enemies, in the town. The good minister of St. Andrew's, Rev. Dr. Burns, escaped their hands, (he had fought valiantly in defence of the town), but Rev. Dr. Addison was taken and sent as a prisoner of war to Flat Bush, N. Y. He was at last out of very shame released and allowed to return home. The seizing of loyal civilians and sending them as prisoners to the United States was a new and disgraceful feature in warfare, never practiced by any nation before. It was a general mode of treating the people of Upper Canada who were not in the army but following their occupations at home. The effect of such conduct was not to daunt or neutralize the spirit of the people, but to make them more resolute than ever to oppose the enemy which resorted to such unlawful acts in a national war.

General Drummond came to Niagara to give his advice and directions to Colonel Murray about the assault on Fort Niagara. The enemy expected an attack on the 16th or 17th of December, but as it was not made on those days they believed it would not take place, and relaxed their watchfulness on the night of the 19th, when it was decided by Colonel Murray to cross over the river.

The boats for the transport of the troops were brought down from Burlington to the Four and Twelve Mile Creeks, and there placed on sleighs and hauled over the snow to the ravine, now Longhurst's, on the river. Captain John D. Servos directed the conveyance of the boats, and Captain Kirby of Fort Erie placed them in the ravine so as easily to be pushed into the water.

The troops selected for the attack on Fort Niagara were a detachment of the 100th Regiment under Colonel Hamilton, a sturdy old veteran; the flank companies of the 41st, and a small party of Royal Artillery, but no gun with them. The troops marched down from St. Davids, where they had been posted to avoid observation, and embarked at once in the boats in two divisions.

Their muskets were unloaded and bayonets fixed. They were rowed across the river to a point two and-a-half miles above the fort, and formed, on landing, in the order given them.

The following conversation is recorded as having taken place between Colonel Murray and Lieut. Dawson of the Grenadiers of the 100th, who was to lead the "Forlorn Hope" in the attack:

"What description of men have you got, Dawson, for the advance? Can you rely on them?"

"I can, Colonel. I know every man of them. They can all be depended on."

"Yes, Dawson, I dare say, but what I mean, are they a desperate set? I want men who have no conscience, for not a soul must live between the landing place and the fort. There must be no alarm given to the enemy."

"They are just that description of men, Colonel."

Colonel Murray smiled and said no more.

The night was dark, with only a glimmer from the snow on the ground. The road was full of frozen ruts, the ice in which broke under the tread of the soldiers. Other sounds there were none, for the order had been given that instant death was the penalty on any one who spoke aloud or made any noise to alarm the enemy. The boats, with muffled oars, were rowed by strong arms and crossed the mighty river in fifteen minutes. The men quietly disembarked and formed in two divisions on the road to the fort, every man in his place, with the appointed officers.

Lieutenant Dawson and Sergeant Spearman with twelve selected Grenadiers of the 100th marched in advance of the "Forlorn Hope," which was composed of Grenadiers of the 100th and British and Canadian officers. The late Sir John B. Robinson, Judge McLean, Colonel Kirby, Sir Allen McNabb, Captain Bullock, 41st; Lt. Nolan, Daniel K. Servos, Capt. Ball and others, were in the "Forlorn Hope" to pilot the way and join in the assault. Behind these at a very short distance marched the companies of the 100th and 41st, under Cols. Murray and Hamilton, with a party of artillery men carrying scaling ladders, under Capt. Fawcett. Lt. Daniel Servos, with the "Forlorn Hope," carried a stick of cordwood on his shoulder to throw into the gateway as soon as the gate opened to prevent its closing again.

Mr. James McFarlane of the River road with a party of axemen followed to chop down the pickets and open the way into the rear of the fort.

The troops, with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets, marched silently and quickly on their deadly errand, without causing any alarm. A large tavern stood by the roadside, in what is now Youngstown. A sentry was on post at the door, and a strong guard within, playing cards and unsuspecting any danger. Sergeant Spearman, a powerful man, and one of his Grenadiers, crept up and seized the unfortunate sentry, choking him before he was able to cry out. They demanded and got the countersign from him, when they instantly bayoneted him. The rest of the "Forlorn Hope" came up and rushed into the tavern. "Not a soul must live between the landing place and the fort!" shouted Captain Dawson. All the guard were instantly put to death. The landlord of the house, a large, corpulent man, ran downstairs to see what was the matter, and was instantly transfixed by the relentless bayonets, and was left dead in a sitting posture against the partition of the bar-room. About twenty men were killed in the tavern. Still, the noise of this affray did not reach the fort, and the storming party advanced to the main piquet of the enemy, close to the fort. They were heard now and challenged. Captain Kirby answered and said they were a relief for the garrison sent down from the Falls. This answer was not accepted. An alarm was raised and the picket was at once attacked. About twenty were killed, and some who escaped ran for their lives to the main gate, which was open and could not be closed, as Lieut. Servos threw his stick of cordwood into the opening. After a minute of fierce struggle the gate was thrown open and the advance rushed in, followed closely by the whole body of the storming party except the detachment which had been sent to the rear of the fort. These at once cut down pickets, while the artillery men rushed in with scaling ladders. The 41st swarmed up, and by the time the stormers of the main gate entered, the company detailed to the back of the fort had also broken over the ramparts and entered. The two columns rushed each in the direction ordered and laid down for them.

The garrison was now fully roused. The men seized their arms and commenced to fire wildly in all directions, but the storming parties knew where to go. Lieut. Nolan of the 100th, a most gallant young officer, found a crowd of the enemy gathered in the stone blockhouse. He hoped to save their lives and summoned them to

surrender, when one of the men fired and killed him on the spot. His Grenadiers, who were behind him, enraged at his death, rushed in, and in a few minutes every man in the block-house was bayoneted.

Many of the enemy got out of the fort and escaped in the darkness. After a struggle of fifteen minutes the fort was in complete possession of the British. The drummers of the 100th found their way to the roof of the main building and played "The British Grenadiers," to the delight of the successful stormers. At daybreak the British colours were hoisted on the flag staff of the fort and a royal salute was fired, which told the people far and near that the redoubtable Fort Niagara had been taken and was securely in the possession of our army.

The loss of the Americans in Fort Niagara was sixty-five killed and a smaller number wounded; twenty-seven pieces of artillery and seven thousand muskets were captured; of the garrison three hundred and fifty were made prisoners of war. The magazines were full of camp equipage, clothing and provisions for a large army. In the dungeon of the fort were a number of Canadian gentlemen, civilians, who had been carried off as prisoners to be sent into the interior, among them the Hon. Wm. Dickson, Samuel Street, John Thompson, John McFarlane, Peter McMicken, and others of Newark and vicinity. With joy they received their liberation by their countrymen. The British loss in this affair was six—one killed and five wounded.

The commandant of the fort was Colonel Leonard. McClure had posted off to Buffalo as soon as he got across the river. Colonel Leonard had a house on the river bank four miles from the fort. He was in his house the night of the attack, and only learned that his garrison had been taken when the royal salute resounded on his startled ears at daybreak. He came in and surrendered himself.

The commander-in-chief of the British forces, Sir Gordon Drummond, who had watched the attack from Fort George, went over at daylight. The troops formed in square, and he thanked them warmly for the discipline and courage they had shown in the storming of the fort. He ordered the fort to be placed in order. The prisoners were sent away, and preparations made for retaliating on

the American frontier for the barbarous destruction of Newark.

The storming of Fort Niagara was the most brilliant exploit of the war of 1812. To cross a large body of troops across a river three-quarters of a mile wide on a dark, cold December night; the silent march for over two miles on a rough, frozen road, covered with snow; the successful capture of the outlying piquets, and the rush into the fort and its immediate capture, told such a story of discipline and bravery of the British troops as was the admiration of their friends, and confounded the enemy with amazement and fear, as was abundantly shown in the next two weeks.

Many details of the storming of Fort Niagara were related to me by Colonel Daniel Kerr Servos of Barton, who was in the "Forlorn Hope," as we sat together on the beach on the fishing ground Niagara, opposite the fort, one summer day in the year 1850.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1813.

THE campaign of retaliation was begun next day by the brave and enterprising General Riall, who, with a force of a thousand regulars, militia and Indians, crossed the river and attacked Lewiston, where an American detachment, of regulars, artillery and Tuscarora Indians was posted. They were attacked by Riall and put to the rout, leaving their guns and stores and a considerable number of killed and wounded. The village of Lewiston was at once set on fire and totally consumed. The inhabitants had fled. Riall followed the enemy to Schlosser and then returned and re-crossed the river. All the mills and stores between Lewiston and the lake shore as far as Oak Orchard were burnt. The destruction of the whole frontier followed immediately.

General Riall crossed the river below Fort Erie on the 29th with a force of nigh 1,000 regulars of the 89th, 41st, 8th, Royal Scots, and Grenadiers of the 100th, with a company of the 1st Lincoln Militia under Captain John D. Servos, and about 400 Indians under Blackbird and other chiefs.

They landed below Black Rock, and were vigorously opposed with artillery and musketry fire, loosing many men before they left their boats. The Americans were commanded by General Hall, about 3000 in number. Neither General nor men—chiefly militia and volunteers—made a stand to give the British any fight. They ran almost at the first onset, leaving Black Rock and flying to Buffalo, which they entered in great confusion and dismay. A second detachment of British, composed of Royal Scots and militia, under Colonel Gordon, crossed the river in face of the strong batteries placed near Buffalo. The Royal Scots had fifty men killed and wounded in the boats before landing, but the troops disembarked in

spite of this, charged up the bank, and marched at once to co-operate with Riall in the attack on Buffalo.

The whole army of the enemy fled, as well as all the people of the town, on the approach of the British, offering but a weak, scattering defence. The American loss at Black Rock and Buffalo was about from three to four hundred killed and wounded, besides 130 prisoners. The British loss was 102 killed and wounded. Of the militia three privates were killed and Captain Servos and five privates wounded.

Buffalo and Black Rock were immediately set on fire and utterly consumed, also four armed vessels of the Lake Erie fleet, and immense stores of all kinds. General Hall's army was broken up and dispersed; most of the militia went to their homes to secure the escape of their families from the dreaded vengeance of the British and Indians.

As soon as it was known that the British troops and Indians had landed on the American side, the whole of the inhabitants of the country for a width of fifty miles inland from the front hastily packed up or left their property and fled in terror into the interior. The scene was a fearful one. The roads were filled with wagons, horses, cattle and frightened men, women and children, by hundreds, escaping from the British and Indians, who, it may be said, had no thought of pursuing them in their flight, nor was any property destroyed except the villages and farms on the river bank. It is said: "A guilty conscience makes cowards of us all." The people felt that they had deserved, although they did not receive, the punishment due for the conduct of their troops in the Niagara district. The memory of the "Big Scare" is still fresh on the American frontier.

The horrors of war were now fully realized on both frontiers, and the conduct of hostilities henceforth became more cruel and unrelenting than ever. Canada had by this time got rid of most of her domestic traitors, and the loyal people had less trouble in dealing with the miserable remnant of them.

The Amalekites were still in the land, but they dared not henceforth show their teeth or be known as traitors.

Colonel Gordon with the Royal Scots and a troop of the 19th

Light Dragoons marched from the Falls to Fort Niagara and destroyed every building on their route. The total number of buildings of all kinds burnt on the American frontier in retaliation for the destruction of Newark was over 300, about the precise number destroyed at Newark. The scales of justice were evenly balanced, and carefully held up in the hands of Sir Gordon Drummond, who had a terrible duty to perform, and did it unshrinkingly, knowing that nothing short of a full and ample retaliation would avail to check the unscrupulous war party in the States. The retaliation for the wanton destruction of the public property in York was executed by the British fleet and army at Washington, when they captured the Federal Capital and burnt the Congressional Halls and all other public property, which need not be further mentioned here.

There was quiet on the frontier during the rest of the winter of 1813-14. Sir Gordon Drummond took the opportunity offered by the possession of Fort Niagara to build a small but strong fort on Mississaugua Point, which was intended to be named Fort Riall, but subsequently acquired the name of Fort Mississaugua.

The mass of ruins in the town—walls, chimneys, hearths and stone from cellars and foundations—offered much material for the new fort. The country people brought in their teams to assist. The troops worked diligently under the directions of Col. LeVigoreux and other engineers, and by spring the fort was completed, with magazines and armed with heavy cannon and mortars, and with barracks for three hundred men. Fort Mississaugua is a regular built star fort, the only one in Canada. It stands on the lake bank in front of Fort Niagara, and commands the channel at the mouth of the river. This fort, so interesting from its origin, is referred to by a writer of Niagara as follows :

" The grey, square tower that stands
Above the place of landing nets, its walls
Thick as a feudal keep, with loopholes slashed,
Contain the wreck and ruin of the town,
Fair Newark once, gay, rich and beautiful,
By ruthless foes, when flying in retreat,
Burnt down to blackened heaps of bricks and stones.
The ruins of its walls and hearths were built
Into this stern memorial of a deed
Unchivalrous in days of war gone by."

Fort Mississaugua has long been dismantled. Its guns were removed in about 1856. The tower and ramparts remain, and its flag is still floating in the breeze, but otherwise it is only preserved as a relic of the war and a pathetic memento of the old town of Newark.

This fort completed the defences at the mouth of the River Niagara. With Fort George, Fort Niagara and Fort Mississaugua in British hands, we had a triangle of strength, such as bid defiance to all the efforts of the enemy to overpower us in the next campaign of 1814.

General Sir Gordon Drummond was in 1813 made Governor of Upper Canada. He spent much of the winter and spring at Newark organizing the militia, which, with their war experience, were now in discipline, obedience and confidence almost equal to the regular troops. The brigade stationed at Newark, under the command of Colonel William Claus, was composed of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th Regiments of Lincoln. His regulars were the 41st, 49th, 8th, 89th, 100th and Royal Scots, with batteries of Royal Artillery, some squadrons of the 19th Light Dragoons, Provincial Dragoons and Artillery, and a large force of Indians, of whom Blackbird, John Brant, Oneida Joseph, Johnson and others were chiefs. The Caughnawagas, with the Seven Nations, were under the command of DeLorimier, Ducharme and other French Canadian officers. Supplies came in from the farmers, and all had perfect confidence in the Government and the commander of the army, and were ready to meet the great invasion of 1814, which was, the American newspapers and politicians and people generally asserted, to be the crowning end of the war, and indeed the Government at Washington was exerting every nerve to assemble a force big enough to wipe out the long series of disasters their forces had met with in the preceding years. As far as numbers went they succeeded in getting an immense army of regulars on the frontier. They had no longer any hope of their militia or volunteers. Nothing but troops of the regular army would now take the field on the Niagara frontier, and placed in the hands of Generals who gave them the promise of victory.

Immense difficulties were rising in the States of New England in regard to the continuance of the war. These States were mainly

dependent on commerce and manufactures for their prosperity, even for their existence. The embargo on their shipping put an end to their foreign trade. It was a cunning move to procure sailors to man the navy. The subsequent British blockade finished navigation in all their ports. The majority of New Englanders were Federals in politics, and, as such, deadly foes to the Democratic war party. They opposed the whole policy of the war, and combined to bring it to an end and save themselves from the total ruin that impended. The Governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut refused to embody their militia in the service of the United States. Leaders of the Federalists held meetings to oppose the war, and at last the heads of the party met in what is known as the "Hartford Convention" and passed resolutions denunciatory of the war, and were prepared to go to the extreme length of seceding from the Union and practically reuniting with Britain if the war continued much longer.

The political ferment in New England had a powerful effect in the country. The New England States, except Vermont, escaped hostilities by a sort of mutual compact or understanding with the Canadian administrators. The northern part of Maine was taken and remained peaceable under British law until the close of the war. The Washington Government was in fear lest New England would go off body and bones to the British, thus leading in the way of a secession, which was actually made by the Southern States in 1860. The sudden end of the war in 1814 in all probability retained New England in the Union. It was therefore now or never with the war party, who did their very utmost to bring a more powerful army than ever before upon the Niagara frontier in 1814.

The town of Newark presented a melancholy spectacle with its heaps of blackened ruins and streets without an inhabitant, and traversed only by soldiers of the forts and Indians from their camps in the oak bush. Its people were scattered throughout the country, and but few came in to rebuild until after the war. They heard the renewed boasting and threatening in the States, for the Government there, at their wits' end to keep up the frenzy of their people in favour of the war, encouraged their party press to misrepresent, distort and falsify the record of the past year's events. Thence arose, and from thence continues to this day, the extraordinary state-

ments of American books, newspapers and public speakers in regard to the history of the war, and, indeed, in regard to every controversy with Great Britain since that time. The swarm of historic lies set running over the country at that time are running still, and will never be stopped. They are as thick as Brownies in the fairy tales, and as unreal, but itching ears love to listen to them, and the stories of historic fiction never grow less in their literature.

In the spring fresh reinforcements arrived at Newark, which was now become almost impregnable from the junction of its three forts—of Niagara, Fort George and Mississaugua—all within range of each other, and by their cross fires preventing the enemy from attacking one or all of them. This was a source of confidence to the people in this district. The sight of British colours floating over the forts and the strong force of regular troops occupying them, the sound of the morning and evening gun fire, and drums beating from one side to the other, were encouraging signs for the re-opening of the next campaign, while a fleet, including the new hundred gun line of battle ship the *Royal George*, came up from Kingston and anchored in the river, making the triangle of strength a quadrilateral which was perfectly impregnable to any force the United States could bring against it.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1814.

THE part taken by the Indians in the war ought never to be forgotten by the people of Canada. Their courage and fidelity to the King were never impeached. The terror of them among the American armies and people largely contributed to the victories of the British arms on many notable occasions, as at Detroit, River Raison, Queenston, the Beaver Dams and Black Rock and Buffalo. The "Big Scare" on the Niagara Frontier was as much occasioned by the presence of the Indians with General Riall as by the terror of his white troops. It may justly be said that the salvation of Upper Canada was in considerable measure secured by the activity and zeal of the red men who took the field in her behalf. May their services never be forgotten—and we may say they have never been forgotten, for the justice and kindliness of all the subsequent dealings of the British and Canadian Government with the Indian tribes have been inspired by feelings of respect and gratitude for their services in the war of 1812.

The gallant exploit of Captain Roberts in the capture of Michilimacinac was an event of importance. It opened the way to the descent of the Northwestern tribes into Upper Canada. The various tribes of the Chippawas, Crees, Pottawatomies, Sacs, Foxes, Sioux and Winnebagoes rushed in to join the Shawnese, Wyandots, the Six Nations of the Grand River and the so-called Seven Nations of Quebec, of whom the Caughnawagas were the most formidable.

The several tribes were under the leadership of their own chiefs, but all were under the command of the Generals of the army. The northern and western Indians were wild and quite unused to civilized life and warfare. The settled Indians of Upper Canada were largely Christianized and followed the usages of the army. Colonel William

Claus, the Superintendent of the Indian Department, had the general charge and oversight over them, providing provisions, clothing, arms and such articles as they required in their camps.

The Western tribes, such as the Shawnese, Miamis and Wyandots, were under the skilful leadership of Tecumseth, the Wyandot Round Head and Little Turtle. The Caughnawagas were led by French Canadian officers, DeLorimier and DuCharme. Blackbird, a brave Ottawa chief, led most of the Seven Nations, while John Brant, (son of Joseph Brant,) Captain William Kerr, Captain Norton and Chiefs Hill, Martin and Johnson led the Six Nations and the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte. The Mississauguas were under a chief of their own tribe.

The activity of these Indian warriors was a special cause of fear and hatred to the Americans, who loudly complained before the world of the inhumanity of the British Government in allowing the Indians to take part in the war, while with characteristic inconsistency they enlisted all the Indians they could get to enlist on their own side.

The American army on the Niagara frontier had with it a large force of vagabond Indians, chiefly Senecas, Oneidas, Tuscaroras and and Delawares, under Cornplanter, Red Jacket and other leaders, and these chiefs, under orders from the American General, were set to work to try and seduce from their British allies the Indians in camp at Queenston, by cunningly proposing to them that if they would desert from the British they on the other part would leave the American service. This of course was a pretence, to persuade the British Indians to desert their allies.

The Tuscaroras shouted across the river, and then sent a flag of truce with a lot of Senecas over to Queenston with a request that our Indians would meet them in a conference near the piquets at Niagara. This was during the occupation of Fort George by the enemy. The Canadian Indians met them at the spot designated, when the following conversation took place. The Tuscaroras taking the lead in the council.

Osegurisor, the principal chief of the Tuscaroras in the States, appeared and nine others with him.

The British Onondagas saluted the Tuscaroras, after which

Katarota, Onondaga chief, spoke: "We understand that it is your wish to see us and to speak with us. We have now come to hear what you have to say."

Ta Karchoga, a Mohawk chief, spoke: "Brother, the Onondaga has spoken, and has told you we are ready to hear what you have to say. The chiefs of Sixteen Nations are here to listen."

Osegurisor, Tuscarora chief, spoke: "Our desire to see you was to know whether the same sentiments of friendship exist with you that you expressed at the Standing Stone (Brownstown) two years ago. Notwithstanding that we are separated by the contention between the British and Americans, our sentiments are still the same."

Ketarota, Onondaga, spoke again: "You see, notwithstanding the report that the British are weak, the Great Spirit is with us, and we are enabled to take possession again. As the King has been obliged to give ground at Niagara, we want to understand from you whether you are induced to take part with the Americans or not; we wish to know what you had to communicate to us in particular."

Osegurisor replied: "These times have been very hard, under great difficulties, being so near the lines; and we wish to know whether your sentiments are still friendly towards us; and if you cross the river whether you will hurt us?"

Katarota said: "This will depend on yourselves. If you take no part with the Americans we shall meet you with the same friendship we ever did, and we look for the day that you will see our faces on your side of the water. We have no contention with you—it is the King and the Americans—and we have taken part with the King. We will contend for his right."

Osegurisor replied: "We are determined to sit quiet and take no part."

Ta Karehoga said: "Brothers, we take leave of you. The head of our army and the head of our department (Col. Claus) salute you."

In accordance with this agreement the Tuscaroras sat quiet. When the British and Indians crossed over to Lewiston in December they did not molest the Tuscarora tribe settled there. These were treacherous, however. They did not remain neutral, but took the field at the command of the Americans, and in consequence their

settlement was totally destroyed in December, 1813, by the British Indians, who crossed with General Riall to Buffalo.

The Indians with the British army rarely committed cruelties, being restrained by the officers and rewards being offered for prisoners, in order that lives might be spared. But the natural instinct of revenge for injuries was a passion deeply seated in the Indian breast, and the conduct of the Americans towards the Indians who fell into their hands too often gave occasion to retaliate on the part of their friends.

The murdering of Indian prisoners and the mutilating of the dead were a common practice in the American army, and the effect on the Indians was commensurate in some degree. The public reward offered the Indians of five dollars for every American prisoner brought into the British camp was generally successful, but as the American practice of mutilating the dead was not stopped, retaliation could not always be prevented.

The speech made by the great Chief Blackbird to the Indian Superintendent in Council at the Ten Mile Creek, 18th July, 1813, throws an instructive light on this matter.

Blackbird in council rose and said: "Brother, we have listened to your words, which words come from our father. We will now say a few words to you. At the foot of the Rapids (the Grand Rapids, Michigan.) last spring we fought the Big Knives, and we lost some of our people there. When we retired the Big Knives got some of our dead. They were not satisfied with having killed them, but cut them into small pieces. This made us very angry. My words to my people were: 'As long as the powder burnt, to kill and scalp,' but those behind us came up and did mischief. Brother, last year at Chicago and St. Joseph's the Big Knives destroyed all our corn. This was fair, but, brother, they did not allow the dead to rest. They dug up their graves, and the bones of our ancestors were thrown away and we could never find them to return them to the ground. Brother, I have listened with a good deal of attention to the wish of our father. If the Big Knives, after they kill people of our colour, leave them without hacking them to pieces, we will follow their example. They have themselves to blame. The way they treat our killed, and the remains of those that are in their graves in the west,

makes our people mad when they meet the Big Knives. Whenever they get any of our people into their hands they cut them like meat into small pieces. We thought white people were Christians. They ought to show us a better example. We do not disturb their dead. What I say is known to all the people present. I do not tell a lie. Brother, it is the Indian custom when engaged to be very angry, but when we take prisoners to treat them kindly. Brother, we do not know the value of money; all I wish is that our people receive clothing for our prisoners. When at home we work and hunt to earn those things; here we cannot. Therefore, we ask for clothing. Brother, the officer that we killed you have spoken to us before about. I now tell you again, he fired and wounded one of our colour; another fired at him and killed him. We wished to take him prisoner, but the officer said 'God damn,' and fired, when he was shot. That is all I have to say."

The sentiments expressed by Blackbird represent truly the general feeling of the Indians towards the Americans, who, as he says, had themselves to blame for the treatment they received from the Indians in this war.

The following general order regarding the Indian service was issued by the Commander of the Forces from headquarters at Kingston on the 6th July, 1813:

"The detachments of Indian warriors being about to return to their homes, His Excellency the Commander of the Forces cannot suffer these brave men to depart without expressing the high sense he entertains of their gallantry and good conduct in the zeal and promptness with which they have repaired on the first summons to the division of the army in actual service, and the skill and intrepid courage displayed in the battle of the Beaver Dams, by which the defeat and surrender of a very superior body of the enemy's regular force was principally achieved. And His Excellency has particularly to applaud their exemplary discipline and forbearance, refraining from all further hostility the moment they were informed that the enemy had surrendered. The officers attached to the Indian warriors have distinguished themselves by their gallantry and good conduct.

His Excellency directs that on the return of these warriors they may receive a liberal donation of the usual presents, and that the wounded and families of those who have fallen in action may receive a double proportion.

Signed, EDWARD BAYNES,
A. G., N. A."

On the 12th August, 1813, a meeting of several Indian nations was held at the cross roads, Niagara township.

Present—Wm. Claus, Supt.
" Major Givens.
" Capt. DeLorimier.
" Lt. DeLorimier.
" Lt. Brant.
" Lt. Lyons.

Te Karehoga spoke on seven strings of wampum black, and six strings of black and white wampum from the Shawnese: "Brother, on my road to the Grand River I heard of the death of Lt.-Colonel Bishop, and of the conduct of our brothers at Buffalo Creek. They have forgotten their promise and have raised the tomahawk against the King and spilt the blood of his children. Their word to us was: 'If the Americans take from us our property and stop our money, yet we are determined not to raise the tomahawk against the King.' They have done it, and I have informed the western Indians what has been done, and I shall report to you their answer."

The Shawnese says: "Our elder brother, we look towards you and see that you feel yourselves in distress. Our people are going to the Maumee, and so soon as that business is over, which we expect will be very soon, then look to see us with you, and we shall cross the River Niagara and face those people on their own side of the water. It is long since we took the King by the hand, and we do not expect to let it go. You we took by the arm. We love the King, his children and you, equal to our heart's blood, and whoever hurts his people hurts us. You will tell our brother at the head of our affairs that he must not think hard in case any cattle are killed on our way down. I am not alone. I have four or five with me. Brother, this is the answer I received when my messenger came away. An Indian with one arm had just arrived from Maumee. He left it nine days ago. He says that Kigahoga was taken, and 1,000 barrels. That a strong force of Indians, 4,000, were going to storm Fort Maumee, but they were advised not to attempt it, but to go and cut off a party of 300 men who had charge of stores, consisting of goods, money and provisions, and that 2,000 more went where there were three large stores full of goods, and 1,000 remained until the

parties returned. This is the report of this man. I do not give it to you as truth, but what I have said on the wampum is true."

The following general order of Major-General DeRottenburg will show the equitable spirit of the British Government in regard to the Indians:

HEADQUARTERS, KINGSTON,
26th July, 1813.

The Commander of the Forces has under consideration the report of a Board of Officers, of which Brig. Gen. Vincent was president, assembled by His Excellency's order at the headquarters of the centre division of the army, at St. Davids, the 20th July, 1813, for the purpose of considering the claims of the Indian warriors to head money for prisoners of war brought in by them, and to the propriety of some provisions being made for those who may be disabled in service, with a view to soften and restrain the Indian warriors in their conduct towards such Americans as may be made prisoners of war. His Excellency is pleased to approve of the following arrangement subscribed by that board, and directs that the same may be acted upon, viz.:

The proceedings of a council with several Indian warriors assembled at the Forty Mile Creek on the 27th ulto., having been presented to the board, it is of opinion that upon the subject of head money upon prisoners of war brought in by Indians, allowance should be made for each prisoner brought in alive of five dollars. The board is of opinion that the following rates of pensions are sufficient:

To a chief for loss of limb, eye, or receiving a wound equal to loss of limb, $100 per annum.

To a warrior for loss of limb, eye, or receiving a wound equal to loss of limb, $70 per annum.

To the widow of a chief or family of a chief killed in action or dying of his wounds, a present of $200.

To the widow of a warrior killed in action or dying of his wounds, a present of $170.

The Board are of opinion that Indians ought to be entitled to prize money for the capture of Detroit in the following proportions: Chiefs as subalterns, warriors as privates. The head money for prisoners of war brought in by Indian warriors is to be immediately paid by the commissary upon the certificate of the general officer commanding the division with which they are acting at the time. His Excellency the Commander of the Forces is pleased to make the following appointments in the Indian Department, viz.: Mr. Ch. Spinard to be interpreter, to receive pay and allowance as such from the 25th June last; George Rousseau, lieut., to be lieutenant and interpreter vice Chew, killed in action, commission dated 25th June, 1813. Signed,

EDWARD BAYNES,
Adj.-Gen'l.

The fidelity of the Indian tribes and their active services contributed greatly to the glorious termination of the war. Their perpetual presence round the lines of the enemy's armies crippled their movements and cut them off from information, while to the British they brought all the information needed. In battle they took a most active part, and always with such proofs of zeal and courage as gained for them the respect and admiration of the regulars and militia with whom they co-operated.

Canada owes much to the Indians of that day for her safety and independence.

The country has shown its appreciation of the Indians by raising them, in the older Provinces, to the full privileges of citizenship, and it may justly be said of the Indians in Ontario and Quebec that they are now on a par with the white population in industry, intelligence and patriotism. The voting power in parliamentary and municipal affairs is exercised by them with judgment and independence not surpassed by the general run of white electors.

A grand monument has been erected in Brantford to the honor of Chief Joseph Brant. It is to be desired that a similar monument shall be erected in London to the memory of Tecumseth, the brave, noble chief, who fought so well for us and died in our defence.

CHAPTER XXX.

1814.

THE President and Congress having seen their armies repulsed for two years and driven out of Canada by far inferior numbers, and the United States in an uproar of denunciation at such a series of defeats, saw that it was now or never with them, and that in the campaigns of 1814 if they could not overcome the British and Canadians they must give up the struggle in disgrace, and find their political party defeated all over the country. Their strong ally, Napoleon, had been driven out of Russia. The British armies under Wellington had expelled the French from Spain and Portugal. Germany was freeing herself from French oppressions. The British fleets were riding triumphantly on all the Atlantic coasts of North America, and every port was closely blockaded and threatened with attack. It was clear that the American Government must exert itself as never before in its contemplated invasion of Canada this year. That failing, they must, as actually happened, sue for peace on any terms Britain would grant.

They had also discovered that their militia and volunteers were worthless in the field, and that only regular troops must compose their armies of 1814 to have any chance of success in encounter with the forces of Great Britain. The winter and spring were most industriously made use of in the organizing and drilling of a great army of regular troops. From eight to ten thousand were collected at Buffalo and the Falls, and placed under the command of Generals Brown, Ripley, Scott, and others of their most experienced and trusty officers. Immense supplies of provisions and clothing were sent to the frontier, while their best artillery were well provided, horsed and manned, and cavalry were also equipped for active service. In short, nothing was lacking, and the Americans felt cock sure this

time that the red coats would be beaten, and the lost laurels of the two past campaigns regained by decisive victory. They were excusable in this belief, only that victories over British and Canadian troops were things easier to boast of beforehand than to win in the day of battle.

Generals Drummond and Riall, Colonels Murray and Harvey, were not men to undervalue their enemy, or yet to overvalue them. They knew they had some of the best fighting material in the British Army, and that their officers of every grade were skillful and courageous, and daring to a degree that their foes had never equalled.

The Niagara frontier in the winter of 1813 and 1814 was put in a posture of the best defence possible. The army already on the lines, consisting of the 8th, 41st, 49th, 89th and 100th, were reinforced on the opening of navigation by the 103d and 104th. The Glengarry Regiment, raised among the brave, loyal Highlanders of Glengarry; the Incorporated Militia, an Upper Canadian regular regiment; the Royal Artillery and Cavalry of the 19th Light Dragoons and Provincial troops; the Regular Militia, now equal to any, was on this frontier. The five Lincoln Regiments, hardy and true to their trust, were also in arms again. The loyal Indians, numerous and bold, were in support of the British Army everywhere.

General Drummond could not have had better soldiers, and, although not half in number of the enemy, neither he nor they had a doubt of victory.

The country had now been weeded out of traitors and disaffected, and acted as one in sentiment and opposition to the enemy. Even the women and children were filled with patriotic spirit, refusing information to the enemy or misleading them on every opportunity, while every small vidette or scouting party was fired upon in the woods or wherever a shot could reach them by the indignant farmers who had been so mercilessly harried the year before. Everyone awaited with deepest interest, but without fear, the opening of the campaign of 1814.

General Brown with a strong army of 7,000 men crossed over to Fort Erie on the 3rd of July, and immediately invested the fort, which was held by 127 men of the 8th Regiment under Major Bond. As there was no chance to escape, the small garrison surrendered and

were made prisoners of war. This small affair was immediately trumpeted forth through the United States as a great victory, with eulogies of the prowess of the American Army, and proclaiming that the way was now clear to the conquest of Canada.

General Brown immediately pushed his army forward and advanced in martial array towards Chippawa, where General Riall had come up with 2,000 regulars and militia from Niagara, and determined to make a stand on the south side of Chippawa Creek. General Brown attacked him on the 5th July with his whole force. A desperate fight ensued. Riall, in obedience to the plan of campaign laid down beforehand, finding he could not hold the ground in face of such superior numbers, retired in good order across the bridge, which he destroyed after him, and retreated towards Niagara. The losses on either side were about equal, being from 400 to 500 killed and wounded of each army.

The enemy disgraced humanity after the battle. They buried their own dead on the field, but the bodies of the British soldiers and militiamen who had fallen were piled in heaps with layers of wood and fence rails and shamefully burnt on the field. This barbarous conduct, like the burning of Newark, brought upon the enemy a speedy retaliation in kind, as will be seen further on.

General Brown, flushed with his success, advanced his whole army to Niagara and deployed them before Fort George on the 8th July, and invested Fort George and Fort Mississaugua. Then was seen clearly the prudence of General Drummond in the building of Fort Mississaugua as a support to Fort George. The open plain of Niagara was swept by the combined guns of Forts George, Niagara and Mississaugua. It was certain destruction to venture within their range. General Brown halted at the Oak Bush and did not once attempt to pass into the circle of fire. He drew lines around the forts, but nowhere found an opening to get near to them without destruction to his army. The luckless farmers within his lines were plundered without mercy. The houses being only occupied by women and children, offered no resistance. One of his Generals, Swift by name, was a notorious plunderer. He was shot and wounded mortally just outside the American lines, and carried into the house of Jas. Thompson, which he had plundered, and died there.

On his person was found the silver watch which he had taken from Thompson's house.

General Riall, who was in Fort George when General Brown and his army came down, executed a strategic march with a considerable force of his garrison in order to get out and operate on the flank and rear of the enemy. He selected his troops and marched them in the waters of the river and lake round the left wing of the American Army, a distance of two miles and-a-half, until he got quite past their outposts, and then took the Lake Road towards Burlington, which he reached without being discovered by the enemy. This march, stolen past the enemy's army, was the subject of merriment in the British ranks. Riall did not lose a man in this bold movement. The troops entered the river at the foot of King street at midnight, and being well guided ran no risk except from the enemy, as the lake is very shallow for a hundred yards from the beach. The American videttes were not sharp enough to detect the march of the troops in the water of Lake Ontario.

General Riall collected all the force available at Burlington, and joining them with his own proceeded to harass the flank and rear of the enemy, as they lay for near two weeks doing nothing before Fort George. At the end of ten days General Brown heard of Riall's advance from the west, who would probably cut off his lines of communication. He took counsel of prudence and necessity, and on the 23rd July broke up his camp before Fort George and retired precipitately towards the Falls. Captain FitzGibbon, with a scout, watched on the mountain the retreat of Brown's army from Fort George. He relates that the line of march filled the River Road from the DePuisaye house to Queenston—a length of five miles.

This was the signal waited for. The British army issued out of the forts, joined by all the detachments on post in the district. Word was at once sent to General Drummond, then at York, that the decisive battle was nigh at hand. General Drummond at once came over, but did not reach Riall before the latter had been threatened by the army of Brown at Lundy's Lane, and was retiring to Niagara again when Drummond came up with a rapid march from Niagara to join forces with Riall, and then the battle of Lundy's Lane

was fought, and won with such a display of valour and endurance as was never surpassed in America.

Brown's army in their retreat from Fort George burnt the village of St. Davids, Chippawa, the Bridgewater Mills at the Falls Rapids, and nearly every farm house from Chippawa to Fort Erie. The whole frontier on both sides of the river was a scene of ruin and desolation. The war was now carried on by them more upon principles of revenge than of conquest; the last had been found to be impossible to the Americans—the former they were still able to keep up on the unfortunate homes and property which lay in the route of their army.

General Drummond reached the hill at Lundy's Lane just in time to seize it before the enemy, who were advancing from Chippawa, and at six o'clock in the evening of the 25th July the great battle began by the Americans opening with an attack upon the British line, composed of the 89th—a brave regiment which the year before had won the decisive battle of Crysler's farm—the Royal Scots, the 8th King's and some of the 41st. These troops, with two field guns of the Royal Artillery, held the crest of the hill, which the enemy assailed repeatedly and were as often driven back, leaving the ground strewn with dead and dying. General Drummond was everywhere, and his clear voice was heard by his men: "Stand fast! Stand fast! Stick to them lads! Stick to them!" And they did stand fast bravely until the arrival of General Riall with the 103rd and detachments of the King's and 104th, who had taken a wrong road and had actually marched over twenty miles in a broiling sun before they joined in the battle at Lundy's Lane. The Americans also received reinforcements, and then came on the crisis of the battle. They showed real courage and discipline and charged up the fatal hill again and again only to be driven back by the bayonets and bullets of the British. The night was very dark, the light given for the conflict was from the flashes of cannon and musketry. General Riall, on his arrival, plunged at once into the thick of the fight. The enemy at that moment made their last and supreme effort. They massed their columns under Col. Miller and threw them madly against the lines of the British, but in vain. The leading Generals, Brown, Ripley and Scott were all wounded and carried off the field.

General Riall was also wounded and accidentally made prisoner. General Drummond received a severe wound, but would not quit the field until victory was secured.

After four hours of hard fighting and the failure of their last effort, the enemy were driven from the field, leaving some of their artillery behind. The darkness favored their retreat. They threw their stores and camp into the rapids of the Niagara and retired in confusion back to Chippawa. Next morning they retreated to Fort Erie, which place they reached on the afternoon of the day following the battle.

The loss of the British in the battle of Lundy's Lane was 878—killed and wounded. That of the Americans is by General Drummond stated to have been 1,500, including several hundred prisoners. The field of battle presented a terrible sight next morning. Upon the hill and for a distance round it the ground was strewn with dead and wounded men. The latter of whom were all carefully and tenderly picked up and cared for. The British dead were buried in rows of graves and trenches on the field. The American dead were, in retaliation for the burning of our dead at Chippawa, piled in great funeral pyres with wood in heaps under them and burnt to ashes. It was a sad and sorrowful sight, but the conduct of the enemy at Chippawa compelled this act of retaliation. Not all were burnt, however, for in the burial ground on Lundy's Lane today may be seen a gravestone erected over the remains of Captain Hull, a son of the General Hull who surrendered Detroit to General Brock. He was not burnt, but honorably buried. The war was now assuming an inhuman character unworthy of the race to which both armies belonged.

A handsome monument has been placed by the Parliament of Canada on the summit of Drummond Hill, where the hardest of the struggle took place. A brief Spartan inscription upon it reads as follows:

Erected by the
Canadian Parliament
in honour of the victory gained by the
British and Canadian forces on this
field on the 25th July, 1814, and
in grateful remembrance of
the brave men who died on
that day fighting for the unity
of the Empire.
1895.

The unveiling of the monument took place on the anniversary of the battle, 25th July, 1895, when the following sonnet was read on that occasion:

"Stand fast! Stand fast! Stand fast! A mighty cry
Rang from the British line at Lundy's Lane.
Close up your ranks! Stand fast! The foes again
Swarm up the hill, where our brave colours fly,
And Drummond shouts, 'To conquer or to die.'
'Mid roar of guns that rend the heavens in twain,
Our flashing bayonets back upon the plain
Hurl down their columns—heaps on heaps they lie—
And Canada, like Greece at Marathon,
Stands victor on the field of freedom won.
This pillar fair of sculptured stone will show
Forever in the light of glory, how
England and Canada stood fast that night
At Lundy's Lane, and conquered for the right."

The victory at Lundy's Lane decided the war, although much blood was yet to be shed at Fort Erie, which General Brown's troops reached next day in a most demoralized condition, followed up by General Drummond, who invested the place, threw up batteries and opened a bombardment on the 13th August. This continued for two days, when General Drummond decided to make an assault on the fort with the main body of his troops. The assault was made in the morning of the 15th, at two o'clock. An escalade was effected, and an entrance forced into the area of the fort. The British fought wholly with the bayonet. The enemy resisted bravely, but were giving way and flying out of the fort when a most terrible explosion of mines took place, which blew a large portion of the attacking force into the air. In all 904 were killed and wounded, as reported in the despatch of General Drummond—equal to the loss at Lundy's Lane.

Colonels Drummond and Scott both were among the killed, and such was the loss and confusion caused by this catastrophe that the assailants, those that remained of them, were ordered to retreat from the fort and re-occupy their entrenchments and re-commence the bombardment, while the Americans, on account of their heavy losses, were unable to follow them, so the siege went on afresh, with obstinate valour and fighting on both sides. The notorious Wilcox was

shot by a Canadian militiaman—a death too honorable for a traitor, who ought to have been hung with his troopers, whom General Drummond executed at Ancaster.

On the 17th September a general sortie was made by all the Americans, reinforced by fresh troops. They attacked the British entrenchments. A terrible fight ensued, with heavy losses on both sides. The British held their ground and the Americans retired back to the fort. The bombardment continued until about the 21st September, when General Drummond resolved to fall back to Chippawa, hoping to draw the enemy out into the open field, but, instead of following General Drummond, Gen. Brown took advantage of the opportunity, and as soon as the coast was clear evacuated Fort Erie and transported his whole army back to Buffalo, leaving Upper Canada without one solitary American soldier—not a prisoner of war—upon her soil. Such was the end of the terrible campaign of 1814 on the Niagara frontier.

The campaign had ended most disastrously for Congress. They saw now the futility of trying to conquer Canada. They were not able to keep their own territory unscathed. The Hartford Convention led in opposition to the continuance of the war with open threats of the secession of New England if it went on longer. The time had come when peace on any terms was a necessity for the party in power at Washington, and peace was agreed to by Clay and the other American Commissioners at Ghent, and which they made without acquiring one of the points on which the war had been declared. The last incident of the war had been the capture of the frigate *President* by the British frigate *Endymion* near New York, in January, 1815.

The greatest and best equipped and best disciplined army the United States had been able to assemble had been utterly defeated and driven out of the Province by a far smaller force of British regular troops and militia. Better or braver soldiers never faced an enemy than those heroic regiments of regulars and those gallant militiamen and Indians who served under General Drummond in 1814, and those skilful officers who assisted with their counsels and carried out all the plans of the campaign for the defence of the frontier.

When the enemy retired from Fort Erie winter was at hand, and there was great vapouring and threatenings on the other side of a fresh invasion, but General Brown had had enough of it, and no attempt was made to molest Canada again, and when the news reached America of the conclusion of the treaty of peace at Ghent, the United States were only too happy to know that things were left in *statu quo* and that the threatened secession of Federal New England was timely prevented.

Canada was not so well pleased at the articles for restoring territory to each of the belligerents, for the British held in their possession the one-third part of the State of Maine, Fort Niagara on the Niagara frontier, Fort Michilimacinac, Isle Joseph, and some other minor points. The Americans on their side did not hold a foot of British territory, while the Indians of the west, who had kept hopes of the recovery of the Ohio boundary and the lands swindled from them by the so-called treaty of Grenville, were disappointed in the terms of the treaty, but had to comply with it.

The war had been carried to a triumphant conclusion by the bravery and discipline of the British troops and loyal militia and Indians, and led by most skilful and daring officers such as Brock, Vincent, Drummond, Riall, Harvey, Morrison, FitzGibbon, Bishop and others well known to fame. The only failure, and it was a serious one, was in the vacillation and weak policy of the Governor General, Sir George Prevost, who, although brave as a soldier, seemed possessed with the idea of conciliating the enemy instead of fighting him. He paralyzed the plans of General Brock at the outset of the war by the armistice he concluded for some weeks, which prevented Brock seizing Fort Niagara at the first. His conduct at Sackett's Harbor, when it had just been carried, and his ordering a retreat at Plattsburg, which the enemy had partly evacuated, were most lamentable and disastrous acts, that cost the lives of valuable officers and men to no purpose, and which failed to conciliate in the slightest degree an enemy who was irreconcilable to any arguments but those of force. Sir George Prevost was tried by court martial and cashiered for misconduct—but Canada suffered many grave losses through his bad influence on the war.

The war of 1812 established forever the position of Canada as

a member of the British Empire in North America. It taught us a lesson which will never be forgotten: That a loyal, determined people cannot be conquered. American history has been falsified and misrepresented ever since to explain away the truth of the facts of that war so glorious to Canada, so humiliating to the United States. The few books that have been written in England and Canada on that war have been fair and impartial—neither extenuating nor exaggerating the truth—very different from the universal tone of distorted and querulous misrepresentation embodied in American books, especially in the school books used all over the republic.

Only in one American book have I found a candid and just summary of the results of that war. That is in Carl Shurtz's "Life of Henry Clay." The author remarks justly:

"The war came; the country was ill prepared for it. The New England States, which had given the backbone to the combats of the revolution, were but half-hearted in the undertaking. Blunder followed bluder, until, save for the success on the sea and a trifling victory with no fruits over the British and Indians at the Thames, it had been disastrous."

That was the fair conclusion drawn by Carl Shurtz, but then Carl Shurtz was a German. Truth was that the exigencies of party politics in the States and the Presidential elections would allow of no fair record of the facts of the war to be either written or spoken, and thus the seed of future wars was sown by the falsities recorded of the past.

Among the many scenes of slaughter and rapine that took place in the war of 1812, let there be one record of Christian forbearance made here: Mr. John Whitmore, a respectable farmer on the Lake Road about three miles from Newark, was a Loyalist, who as a boy was brought in at the time of the revolution and adopted by Captain Daniel Servos of Butler's Rangers, whose daughter Magdalene he married, and her daughter, Eliza Magdalene, became the wife of the writer of this history.

The father, mother, brother and sister of John Whitmore had been murdered in their home on the west branch of the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania by a band of Delaware rebel Indians, and John Whitmore and three sisters had been carried off captive by them. John had been adopted into the Delaware Nation, and was rescued by Captain Servos after four years of captivity among the Indians.

During the American occupation of Newark a large number of Indians were with their forces, and among them a chief DeCoignee, who had been active in the murder of the family of John Whitmore in 1778.

The presence of this Indian in the American camp became known to John Whitmore, and although so many years had elapsed since the tragedy of the murder of his family he felt a burning sense of revenge, and resolved to kill DeCoignee at the first opportunity. He laid his plan, and got information from the town that the chief was to pass up the Lake Road at a certain day and hour. Whitmore armed himself with a musket and tomahawk and went and watched by the road in the woods, with the firm intention to kill this Indian on his appearance.

It happened that DeCoignee was delayed in his journey and did not come at the time indicated, but Whitmore waited and waited, until, weary of some hours' watch, he sat down on a log and fell into a train of meditation on the business he was there to execute. He was a good man, honest and kind, and a Christian if there ever was one. He sat there several hours, and being quite alone, reflected whether this was a work God would hold him guiltless of if he slew the chief. Natural resentment and the memory of his father and mother seemed to call for blood, but the Divine commandment, "Thou shalt do no murder," pressed upon him with mighty force. It seemed as if some voice repeated to him the words again and again. He was in an agony of doubt between what seemed to be two duties—revenge and forbearance, if not forgiveness. He prayed God for direction, until he felt that to kill the chief would be a sin.

Just as he ceased to pray he heard footsteps in the leaves. He saw the chief, whom he recognized, but was not seen by him. He laid his musket down on the ground, and with feelings indescribable, allowed him to pass by within striking distance. Had the chief seen him, Whitmore would have been unable to control himself, but as it was his good angel held him safe from a retraction of his good thoughts. Whitmore went to the Rev. Dr. Addison, who lived on the adjoining farm, and told him what he had left undone out of obedience to God's commandments, and the good clergyman shook him by the

hands and blessed him that God had delivered him from a temptation that seemed so natural and even so just.

John Whitmore lived to a great age, one of the best and most respected men in the district. He is buried, with his good wife, in the Servos cemetery, Lake Road. All his children and children's children are blest in the life and example of this good man, who died in October, 1853.

I will relate another incident that occurred just before the burning of Niagara, in which John Whitmore was a participator. One of his sisters, who had been carried off with him by the Indians, afterwards was married to Horatio Jones, interpreter of the Senecas. He lived in the Genessee country, and had a large family. Two of his sons, very young men, held commissions in the New York volunteers or militia and were stationed in Niagara in December, 1813. They knew that their uncle, John Whitmore, lived three miles from the town, on the lake shore, and had been ordered by their mother to see him if possible and give her love to him before they left Niagara.

The headquarters of the British troops, under Colonel Murray, had advanced to the farm of the Rev. Dr. Addison on the Lake Road, and were there encamped, preparing to drive the enemy out of the town. The two young American officers got a boat and rowed from the town after dark to go to Whitmore's farm, not knowing that Colonel Murray had advanced to that place.

They landed at Whitmore's, and a few steps took them to his house. They had not been seen by the sentinels, and did not know they were in the British camp.

Whitmore met them, and was horrified when he saw who they were. He knew that if discovered they would be seized and shot as spies. He told the young officers that they were within the British lines. They, too, were greatly alarmed, not having foreseen such a possibility. Whitmore told them to follow him, and he led them at once to the house of the Rev. Dr. Addison, his next neighbour, woke him up and related the circumstance of the presence of his two nephews in the British camp. The good clergyman at once took in the gravity of the situation, and told Whitmore and the young men to go with him immediately to the quarters of Colonel Murray. They went, and Dr. Addison and Whitmore related the whole affair

to Colonel Murray, begging him to allow the two officers to return to Niagara.

Colonel Murray was a man as wise and humane as he was brave. The lives of these two young men were in his hands and justly forfeited by the laws of war, but Colonel Murray, after a strict inquiry, satisfying himself that the two officers had come by misadventure into his camp, and with no ill intent, ordered them to get their boat and return forthwith to Niagara, bearing a severe reproof from him for their rash act, and telling them that it was wholly due to his great respect for Mr. Whitmore, whose loyalty he knew so well, and for the Rev. Dr. Addison, who had interceded for them, that he gave them the benefit of any doubt in his mind as to the truth of their story.

The two officers thanked him, and made their exit from the British camp without a minute's delay, and regained their own lines at Niagara.

Sad was their fate, however. Ten days after this visit these two young officers were killed and scalped by the Indians on the hill at Lewiston, after the British crossed over and stormed Fort Niagara, 19th December, 1813. The fortunes of war are often hard and sudden.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1815.

THE end of the war left the once beautiful town of Newark a scene of utter desolation. Every house had been burnt. The thick walls of St. Mark's and the two forts and ranges of batteries on the front were all that broke the dead level of rubbish, ashes and cellar holes that marked the lines of streets. The people were for the present, and many of them forever, ruined by the destruction of their property, as well as by the loss of fathers, sons and brothers, killed in the war. Nothing more discouraging could be imagined than the prospects before the townspeople who came back to start life anew. Many of the civilians of the town and township had been illegally seized in their homes by the Americans and sent as prisoners of war to the United States, with the double object of weakening Canada and of claiming by means of them the exchange of their own soldiers held by the British as prisoners of war.

A touching reminder of these barbarous acts is found inscribed on a tombstone in St. Mark's churchyard, as follows:

"Sacred to the memory of John McFarland, a native of Paisley, Scotland. He was taken prisoner at the capture of Fort George and escaped from Green Bush near the close of the war, 1815. He returned to his place, Niagara, and finding his property burnt up and destroyed by the enemy, it enervated him so much that he died in a few months after, in the 64th year of his age."

The fate of poor John McFarland was that of many others in Canada after the close of the war.

The majority, however, of the returned inhabitants did not lose courage; they bore their losses like brave men, and courageously set to work to rebuild and restore the town. Many artizans were in the ranks of the troops in garrison, who were allowed to work in the town—brick-makers, bricklayers, carpenters, blacksmiths, and men of other trades—

so the work went on with spirit, and in a year Niagara began again to look up, and trade revived. The first building of any importance re-erected in the town was the new district gaol and court house, built a mile and-a-quarter from the center of the town, quite too far for the convenience of people having to attend the courts, as they had to find quarters in the various hotels in the town. The building was of brick, large and well adapted to the purposes of it. The large fine painting of the Royal Arms, which hung over the judge's bench, is now preserved in the town hall, Niagara, and the fine old chair from which Her Majesty's judges gave so many able judgments and pronounced so many grave sentences is still used as the Mayor's seat in the town council room—venerable and interesting relics of the dignity and importance of Niagara as the chief town of the Niagara District.

The church of St. Mark's remained in a state of dilapidation for some time, for the reason shown in the following letter from Colonel Wm. Claus to the Hon. and Rev. Dr. Stuart:

"NIAGARA, U. C., Jan. 18, 1818.

"Anxious that something should be done towards rebuilding our church, which in the winter of 1813 was destroyed by the enemy at the time our town was burnt, I would not take this freedom if there appeared the most distant prospects or steps taken to make it even in a state that we could attend Divine service, but during this season it is hardly possible to attend. It remains in the state the commissariat put it in for the purpose of storing provisions in after we repossessed ourselves of the frontier, with the trifling addition of a temporary reading desk and gallery for the troops. Your Lordship saw the state it was in last summer. Nothing whatever has been done or likely to be done. It is not even weather proof. The church was made use of in 1812 as an hospital for the wounded. We were deprived of our all and have barely the means of getting covering for ourselves and families, to which must be attributed the melancholy state the church remains in," &c., &c.

In another letter, of 20th September, 1820, Colonel Claus says:

"It may not be amiss to recapitulate. Previous to the war of 1812 the small congregation of Niagara erected at their own expense a church which cost £1200 cy. After its destruction by fire application was made in 1816 to His Majesty's Government for some aid towards putting it into a state to perform Divine service, when His Majesty was graciously pleased to order £500 sterling, which has been received and applied, but falls short of accomplishing our wish. Our congregation are too poor to expect much from them. From their living within gunshot of the enemy's lines they suffered

the loss of all they possessed—burnt out and plundered of everything, and they have really not yet recovered their misfortunes from the late unhappy events," &c., &c.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent money to the Bishop of Quebec, which was devoted to the restoration of St. Mark's.

The Provincial Parliament made liberal grants of money; the Loyal Patriotic Society of England and Canada, and the Imperial Government, all contributed to indemnify, as far as possible, the losses of those who had suffered in the war. Still the process of relief was slow. Commissioners were appointed to investigate and assess the individual claims, the aggregate of which was very large. The Niagara newspaper, the *Spectator*, was printed at St. David's, and page after page of its columns contain the names of wounded militiamen and of the widows and children of those who had been killed, and the amount of relief in grants and pensions allowed them by the Provincial Government.

Still, after all was done, the frontier towns never fully regained their former prosperity. The people had no capital left after rebuilding to carry on great business operations, while the construction of the Welland Canal a few years after—great and good work as it was in itself—was the cause of the ruin of the transport trade round the Falls, which had built up Niagara, Queenston, Chippawa and Fort Erie. All these places, thrown out of the line of trade between Ontario and Erie, have never recovered the prosperity they once owned.

The building up of St. Catharines on the line of the Welland Canal was also very detrimental to the trade of Niagara, as it cut it off and intercepted in large measure the connection of Niagara with the rest of the county.

Still, Niagara held its ground for some years. It was the centre of the wholesale trade for Western Canada. Merchants of capital were still in business — Crooks, MacDougals, Dicksons, Clarks, Buchanans, Ross, Young, Lockhart, and other men of ability and wealth kept up the former reputation of Newark as a mart of general trade. The war had circulated much money, and many individuals had grown rich, although the majority had grown poor.

On the withdrawal of the army except the garrison, many officers and soldiers were allowed to retire. Niagara received a large military element, which merged into its population. Some of the officers, like Colonel Melville and others, were men of wealth and of business aptitudes, which led them into various lines of investment, particularly the Niagara Dock Company, which was formed for the building of vessels, steamers, and the manufacture of machinery, docks and wharves, all of which that company carried on for several years with much success, giving employment to a large number of artizans. The Niagara Dock Company was the leading business of that kind carried on in Upper Canada. The Presbyterians were very numerous in the town in consequence of so many Scotch mechanics working at the dock works. It was found necessary to build a new church for their accommodation. St. Andrew's, a large edifice, was accordingly built, in 1831. It used to be filled in those days, and some very talented ministers had charge of the congregation.

Large foundries and a shipyard were erected at the end of Ricardo street, on a continuation of Front street. The bank on the east of St. Mark's was cut down, and with it the old Indian burying ground. A large warehouse (still standing) was built on the wharf, and was sub-divided into separate compartments for the freight of each of the steamers which frequented the port. The names of these steamers were painted over the large doors of each compartment, and may still be read there.

Some of these steamers were very large. Their names are worth preservation: *The Great Britain, The Canada, The United Kingdom, The Cobourg, The Commodore Barrie, The St. George, The William IV.*

Another compartment was for schooners. The great portage round Niagara Falls via Queenston and Chippawa was then in full use, and all the trade of the upper lakes passed this way, until the construction of the Welland and Erie, (N. Y.,) canals made a complete diversion of it.

In 1815 the Parliament of Upper Canada passed an Act for building on Queenston Heights a monument to the memory of Sir Isaac Brock and to his aid-de-camp, Col. McDonell, who fell there in 1812. The monument was a fine doric column with spiral stair inside

to the top, where a gallery outside gave a view of great magnificence.

On the 13th Oct., 1824, a public funeral given by the Province took place, and the honored remains of Brock and McDonell were removed from Fort George to a vault under the new monument. The funeral evoked the deepest interest in all parts of Canada. Thousands and thousands of people and military, regulars and militia, and Indians followed in the procession, miles long, to Queenston, with solemn music, firing of guns, and other signs of general mourning for their old chief. Upon the monument was placed the following inscription:

"The Legislature of Upper Canada has dedicated this monument to the very eminent civil and military services of the late Sir Isaac Brock, Knight of the Most Honorable Order of the Bath, Provincial Lieutenant-Governor and Major-General commanding the forces in this Province, whose remains are deposited in the vault beneath.

"Having expelled the North Western army of the United States, achieved its capture, received the surrender of Fort Detroit and the territory of Michigan, under circumstances which have rendered his name illustrious, he returned to the protection of this frontier, and advancing with his small forces to resist a second invasion of the enemy, then in possession of these Heights, he fell in action on the 13th of October, 1812, in the forty-third year of his age, honored and beloved by the people whom he governed, and deplored by his Sovereign, to whose service his life had been devoted."

The Lieut.-Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, and all the leading men of the Province attended this funeral, the largest and most memorable that ever took place in Upper Canada.

The remains of Col. McDonell were laid at the same time beside the body of his beloved commander.

In 1815 Francis Gore, the Lieutenant-Governor just before the war, was again, on the advent of peace, re-appointed to the Government of Upper Canada. This was probably an impolitic move, as it awakened old party feelings which had existed before the war, but which a common sentiment of patriotism had laid asleep. Gore was not acceptable to the old Opposition party, although he was a man of ability and desirous to lift the Province out of its depressed condition in consequence of the war.

Unfortunately the progress of recuperation was necessarily slow. Many had suffered in the loss of everything, and found no virtue in patience, which they did not try. The commissioners for assessing

the war losses could not go very fast in their decisions, and many claimants must wait their turn of hearing and judgment. Patience was a virtue hard to bear, but it had inevitably to be exercised. The very magnitude of the losses made this imperative. Still the work went on as fast as prudence and justice allowed. The frontier districts had suffered the most, and there naturally the people were eager and impatient over their losses. It needed but the torch of a reckless political agitator to start up a great flame of discontent in the old district.

The political incendiary soon appeared. In 1817 Robert Gourlay, a Scotchman, who had been active at home as an agitator and orator in radical meetings and clubs, came to Canada, and in the first month of his landing proceeded to call meetings and harangue people on the mis-government, as he called it, of the party in power, and their delay in paying the war losses; their obstructive land regulations and opposition to the immigration of men from the old country, and altogether being the cause of the hard times that still prevailed in the country.

Gourlay was an impetuous, half-educated man, fluent of speech and ready in writing; ambitious to push himself into notoriety as a popular leader, with expectation of living on and by the party he had created. His writings and speeches were most abusive and libelous of the best people of the district. His arrogance and self-conceit were unbounded. He found nothing good in the country but his own opinions and plans for its government. He was the model of the sort of men who find nothing sensible in the world but what they lay down as rules to live by:

> "Ye're a' wrang! Ye're a' wrang!
> Ye're ane an' a', an' a' wrang.
> There's no' a' man in a' the lan'
> But's athegiter a' wrang."

We have had in Canada others like Gourlay, but none with more assurance or less excuse.

Gourlay carried on the trade of an agitator for two years, making considerable uproar in the district, when his career was suddenly cut short by the action of the magistrates, who had power under one of the early statutes of Upper Canada to stop seditious practices and

speeches by the summary banishment of the offenders, a species of ostracism which had lain quiet for some years in the laws of Upper Canada. Gourlay was arrested in 1819 and tried in Niagara before the Commissioners, Hon. Wm. Dickson and Hon. Robt. Hamilton. He was, after a noisy trial, convicted of sedition and sentenced to banishment from the Province for a period of twenty years. This sentence was at once carried out. Gourlay was taken from the court house by a bailiff and constables, conducted to the ferry and sent over the river to the United States, as a proper place of transportation for a seditious man of his kind.

Gourlay remained in banishment for twenty years from 1819. In the summer of 1839 he re-appeared in the Niagara district, and immediately began to call meetings in the old style. In the summer of 1839 the writer saw at St. David's large handbills of his headed "The Banished Briton!" calling on the public to listen to a speech from him. But Gourlay was by this time nigh forgotten. Other political agitators had got possession of the field, and no attention was paid to Gourlay. A year or two later I saw him at the bar of the House of Assembly in Toronto making a long address on his banishment and asking compensation for his losses. No one took seriously what he said, and he was sent empty away. He died a few years after, quite forgotten.

After the departure of Gourlay the country had rest from political agitation and business revived, and farmers prospered by a series of large crops and good prices, and with the farmers' prosperity that of other classes grew as well.

At that time, before the inauguration of free trade in Britain, Canada enjoyed a preferential tariff for her lumber and agricultural produce over the imports of foreign countries. The trade relations between the Colonies and mother country were on a proper footing of reciprocal advantages. British goods were admitted into Canada at a reduced tariff from that on foreign imports, while Canadian articles had a preference by being admitted at a reduced rate of duty from foreign goods. The result was to bind the Colonies to Great Britain by ties of interest as well as of national sentiment and affection, as became members of one Empire living under the Imperial Crown. Pity it was that such a patriotic and popular mode of connection

was ever meddled with, as was afterwards done when Cobden, Bright and their party adopted free trade as the policy of the United Kingdom, without regard to Colonial interests, and to the endangering of the very bonds of empire. We are at this date (1896) trying to restore the old previous trade relations of mutual preferential tariffs. May those efforts, with God's blessing, succeed.

In 1821 died the venerable old King, George III., after a reign of sixty years. He was beloved, and his death regretted by the U. E. Loyalists who, for his crown and empire, had fought so long and so bravely, and who had won Canada in his name, and planted the noble Province, (now Ontario,) which was endowed with free institutions, the gift of the old King and his Parliament. His memory was revered by the people, who knew his virtues and despised the evil said of him by rebels in justification of their treason. The people of Niagara had a substantial proof of the old King's sympathy with them in a gift of five hundred pounds sterling, which he gave to assist in the restoration of St. Mark's church, destroyed in the war.

In 1822 Lt.-Governor Gore retired, and was succeeded by Sir Peregrine Maitland, one of Wellington's bravest officers. Sir Peregrine made a romantic marriage with Lady Lennox, daughter of the Duke of Hamilton. She accompanied her husband to Upper Canada. Sir Peregrine bought an estate at Stamford and built a very handsome residence on the brow of the mountain above St. David's. The deep wooded ravines that were there Sir Peregrine turned into a labyrinth of sylvan beauty, with walks, flower beds, fountains and baths. The gushing springs and rivulets made it in summer a little elysium. Sir Peregrine and his wife loved the spot exceedingly. They were much of their spare time there in the recess of public business at York. They were frequent visitors at Niagara, where the presence of the officers of the regular army and the polite society of the civilians offered pleasant and agreeable company to Sir Peregrine and Lady Maitland.

The town of Niagara had in 1822 a population of 1,086. The population of the township at the same time was 1,207. The total population of the District of Niagara, composed of the present counties of Lincoln, Welland and Haldimand, was 16,156. The population of the Province of Upper Canada was then 180,000—

showing an increase of a hundred thousand since the beginning of the war in 1812.

In 1823 R. Leonard was high sheriff of the district, and Ralf Clench, judge of the district court; Robert Kerr was surrogate, and Ralf Clench, Jr., clerk of the peace; John Powell was county registrar, Thomas McCormick, district treasurer. T. McCormick was also collector of H. M. Customs. The First Regiment of Lincoln Militia was commanded by Colonel Wm. Claus. The second regiment was under Col. James Kirby. The third regiment was under Colonel John Warren, and the fourth was commanded by Col. R. Nelles.

The Indian Department with its headquarters was under the management of the Hon. Wm. Claus, Deputy Superintendent. Jos. B. Clench was clerk, Robt. Kerr, M. D., surgeon, and Mr. Fairchild interpreter. Captain Alexander Garrett, formerly of the 49th Regiment, was barrack master.

Fort George was dismantled after the close of the war and allowed to fall into decay. Fort Mississaugua was retained as a garrison for some years longer and then also dismantled. Butler's Barracks are still retained in good order. They are now without a regular garrison, but are used when the camps of volunteers are formed annually for exercise on the plains of Niagara.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1824.

IN 1824 a project was brought before the Province which, while it promised very great advantages to the country at large, was destined and foreseen to have a detrimental effect on the town of Niagara, now recovering slowly from its ashes and total destruction in the war, which had closed only ten years before.

This was the application for a charter to a company of gentlemen, mostly of St. Catharines, of whom Mr. Hamilton Merritt was the principal, for the making of a canal from the mouth of the Twelve Mile Creek to Port Robinson, to connect by way of Chippawa Creek with the upper Niagara and Lake Erie, thus joining Lakes Ontario and Erie by a short and practicable channel of communication. Like most bold schemes, this project was at first coldly received and generally regarded as the chimera of a speculative brain. But the energy and sound sense of Mr. Merritt were not daunted by indifference or opposition. He went to Parliament and secured his charter, and made it his life's business to build the canal. He got the required stock subscribed, some of it by the Parliament, and in 1829 built the canal to Port Robinson—a small channel that admitted only schooners and barges of forty or fifty tons burden.

The canal once opened created justly great expectations in the country, and soon it was resolved to extend it to Port Colborne. Parliament again assisted with a substantial grant, and finally it was made a Provincial work, and underwent repeated enlargements until it has now become one of the finest canals in America.

The old trade route by portage round the falls was soon killed by the new rival. Many interests in the towns of Niagara, Queenston and Chippawa were ruined. The town of Niagara came to a dead stand. The rapid growth of St. Catharines cut off her trade

largely with the interior, and at the same time many of the people of Niagara removed to the new town on the canal, and Niagara's loss increased largely the prosperity of St. Catharines.

The proposal of many to make the outlet of the new canal at Niagara was opposed both by the Government and by the main promoters of the canal. One prominent reason offered was that the outlet of the canal ought not to be commanded by the guns of Fort Niagara. This reason, with others rising from the interests of property holders at and about St. Catharines, decided the point of location adverse to the interests of Niagara, and, as is now conceded, adverse to the best interests of the canal as regards future enlargements on a very large scale, such as are now called for by the increased size of the vessels now used on the lakes. A great supply of water power from the canal for the establishment of mills and factories, which has also been obtained, were among the advantages gained by the construction of the line where it is. All this, however, was of no profit to the town of Niagara, which had little or nothing to set off against the industries to be established at St. Catharines, Merritton and Thorold.

Niagara had, by the establishment of the Dock Company, retained for many years a thriving business. Her wholesale stores still supplied the country west of Toronto. Hamilton, London and Chatham came to Niagara for their goods until those towns outgrew the old capital. The town was still the chief seat of the district courts, and was the headquarters of the regular troops—generally a whole regiment of Infantry and a battery or two of Royal Artillery. The Indian Department was also located here, and many retired officers of the army. These with the professional men—lawyers, physicians and clergy—with the families of the merchants, made a numerous and well-bred society in the town, who held up their heads with the best in the Province.

A commodious market house was built on the site of the former Government House, with a great town pump in front of it. The whole government square of land was given to the town, and stores were built upon two sides of it, on Queen and King streets.

Niagara was at that period entitled to send a representative to the Assembly of Upper Canada and afterwards to the Parliament of

United Canada. These representatives were generally, not always, Conservative in politics, but competent, clever men were always found and elected. The representatives of Niagara almost always took a forward place in the legislature, and often in the Government of the country. Her members in the persons of Henry L. Boulton, Hon. Jos. Morrison, Hon. Walter Dickson, Hon. Angus Morrison, Hon. John Simpson, Hon. J. B. Plumb, later speaker of the Senate, were evidence of the good sense of the majority of the electors of the town in sending such able men to Parliament.

On the re-arrangement of constituencies in the Dominion, Niagara, on account of its small size, was merged in the county of Lincoln, but it is not found that the political influence of the county as a whole has equalled that of the old constituency of Niagara. However, time is long and generations of men succeed forever. It is to be hoped that the county of Lincoln will never lack for men as wise, true and able as were the members of old Niagara.

In 1826 a furious contention arose in the United States, and principally in the State of New York, between the Free Masons and anti-Masons on the subject of Masonic influences brought into politics and business to favor members of the society in their dealings with others who were not Masons. The strife came to be desperate, when one Morgan, a member of the lodge in Lockport, N. Y., published a book disclosing the secrets of Masonry, which had an immense sale. The publication of this book raised the greatest excitement. The truth of it was affirmed and denied, as party spirit suggested. Old political parties were obliterated for a time, and New York was divided into Masons and anti-Masons, who contended with a bitterness exceeding that of politics.

In the midst of this strife Morgan suddenly disappeared. It was charged by their opponents that the Masons had carried him off a prisoner and shut him up in the dungeon of Fort Niagara, with the connivance of Col. King, the commandant, who was a leading Mason. Morgan was sought for, but was never found. It was alleged that he was taken from his dungeon by certain Masons of Youngstown, placed in a boat and rowed out into the lake, where he was thrown in and drowned.

Samuel Chubbok and others were indicted for the murder. A

great sensational trial took place at Lockport, N. Y., which wrought up men's minds to frenzy. The charge was not proved, however, and the death of Morgan has remained a mystery to this day.

The public in Niagara was intensely interested in these proceedings, which formed almost the sole topic of conversation for two years. A large lodge of Free Masons existed in Niagara, and opinions were divided here as elsewhere on this exciting and mysterious affair. A proposition that can neither be proved nor disproved is the most lasting bone of contention between rival sects or parties, both in religion and politics.

On the retirement of Sir Peregrine Maitland from the Government of Upper Canada, Sir John Colborne succeeded him in 1829 as Lieut.-Governor. This grand old soldier was a man of ability, courage and determination. He was one of the small party of officers who at dead of night buried the noble Sir John Moore at Corunna, and who, by his prompt flank attack of Napoleon's Imperial Guard in their last charge at Waterloo, decided the issue of that glorious day.

The Clergy Reserve lands in Upper Canada were originally, in the first survey of the Province, one-seventh, set aside for the support of the Protestant clergy, as an act of justice towards the Protestants, and as a support due to them to match the grants of glebes and tithes allowed to the Roman Catholic church of Lower Canada.

No objection was made to these grants of Clergy Reserves, and not much use made of them until Sir John Colborne brought them into general notice by his endowment of thirty-nine rectories of the Church of England with land grants out of the Clergy Reserves. This act was resented by the Presbyterian, Methodist and other Protestant churches, who claimed that the Reserves were rightfully as much theirs as the Church of England's.

It had been a happy thing if the Reserves had been then and there appropriated and divided among all Protestant denominations for the support of their ministry, and probably it would have been done if all had exercised a little more patience, but the Rev. Dr. John Strachan of Toronto, instead of yielding disputed the claims of these churches, and at once the question became one of

political party strife, instead of a bond to unite all Protestant churches in union and mutual charity. The question of Clergy Reserves henceforth was one of great political and religious rancour, and gave what it never should have done, a new and sore cause of political discord, which lasted until the Clergy Reserves were taken from the churches and secularized by Parliament. Every church has since then had reason to lament the issue, which deprived them all of property which was given to support a Protestant ministry in Upper Canada. The difficulty generally experienced of maintaining a Christian ministry and churches, drives them all into a rivalry of competition to obtain funds for their support which lowers the prestige and character of them all.

This bitter dispute as to the appropriation of the Clergy Reserves drew the Presbyterians and Methodists into political opposition to the administration of the day, and led many of them into a support of the general agitation which was started and carried on for some years by Wm. Lyon McKenzie, with the claim for Responsible Government.

From 1820 to 1832 the Province increased in population and wealth. The preferential tariff it enjoyed in Britain, and a tariff of heavy rates on American importations, favored the agricultural productions and started manufacturing industry in Canada to some extent, although the Province was as yet too thinly peopled on the whole, and its towns hardly yet worth the name of towns, only the beginnings of such to make a figure. Niagara up to 1832 still held the lead as to wholesale trade in Western Canada.

The District of Niagara was now getting cleared of its dense forests, and well cultivated farms with good houses and barns showed the improvements on the leading roads. The log houses disappeared slowly, however. One reason of this was that they were exempt from taxes, while frame or stone and brick houses were assessed for county rates. The people were hopeful, content and happy. The two reigns of George IV. and William IV. were uneventful in the Province. A controversy was started by the United States on the old subject of boundaries in New Brunswick. William IV., who knew the merits of the dispute and the character of the contestants, uttered a saying which was repeated all over the Province, until it

became a watchword: "Canada must neither be lost nor given away." The country had cause to lament the death of the patriot King when Lord Ashburton, either in ignorance of the fraud in maps presented to him by Daniel Webster, or out of an imbecile spirit, signed the disgraceful Ashburton treaty, which gave away the valuable rights of New Brunswick and Canada to the Aroostook and Madawaska territory, and gave their rights away for nothing but to secure peace at any price.

This did not affect the Niagara District, however, nor check the growth of the town perceptibly. The increasing attractions of Toronto, Hamilton, London, and especially St. Catharines, drew off much of its wholesale trade. Still Niagara had resources as being the district town, the seat of courts and the headquarters of the military on the frontier, that kept off the wolf of rival opposition for some years.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1837.

SIR John Colborne retired from the Government of Upper Canada in 1836 to take chief command of the troops in Lower Canada, which was in a most disturbed state and threatening rebellion if certain demands made in the notorious ninety-two resolutions were not conceded. Sir John was succeeded by Sir Francis Bond Head in 1836, a clever writer and speaker, who had got a name for statesmanship which has been disputed and re-affirmed and disputed again, to this day. Sir Francis' government fell to him in a bad time, however. Parties had got so hot and obstinate on political questions that it is certain Sir Francis came on the scene too late to reconcile or to pacify them.

One of his first acts of administration led to a serious riot in the quiet town of Niagara, which is worth recording, and which caused many to distrust his judgment and blame his rashness. In those years the institution of negro slavery was dominant in the Southern States, and the fugitive slave laws were strictly enforced in all the free States of the Union.

Great numbers of slaves made their escape and sought refuge and protection under the British flag in Canada, the only country in North America which refused to surrender an escaped slave to his former owners. Niagara was a convenient "City of Refuge," and in time a population of between four and five hundred blacks had settled here. A portion of the town was called Negro Town from so many of that class living in that quarter. They were quiet, peaceable and industrious, most loyal and grateful to the British Government, which protected them in their self-acquired freedom.

Incessant complaints and demands were addressed by the slave owners and slave state governments for the rendition of the fugitives,

under one pretence or another. A few were even kidnapped if they offered a chance to men on the other side hired for that mean business, but on the whole the negroes kept a strict watch over the slave hunters, and some of the latter came to grief when they ventured too far in search of their "property."

The Canadian Governments were inflexible in their resolution to protect fugitive slaves, but in 1837 a case occurred in which the Lt.-Governor, Sir Francis B. Head, gave his decision in favor of the demands of the owners of a fugitive slave, which led to the memorable riot and rescue of the slave by the negro inhabitants of Niagara and the surrounding district.

A negro slave named Moseby, of Kentucky, had resolved to escape and follow the lead of the Polar star to the land of freedom in Canada. One day he was sent on horseback to carry a message to a neighboring planter. Moseby thought the opportunity good, having a pass, to make his escape. He rode off and got across the Ohio River, and travelling by night, following the Polar star, and resting by day in woods, he finally made his way to the Niagara River, left his horse, and crossed over into Canada, where he found his way to Niagara among so many more of his race.

A grand jury of the county in Kentucky found a true bill against Moseby for horse stealing, and a requisition for his arrest in Canada and surrender to them was brought by American civil officers to the Lt.-Governor for his extradition. Moseby was arrested in Niagara on the charge of horse stealing, and lodged in the district gaol. The charge was a pretence. His owners avowed that they only wanted to get him back to Kentucky to whip him to death, as a warning to slaves against seeking liberty by going to Canada.

Sir Francis B. Head chose to regard the alleged charge as lawful and sufficient for Moseby's surrender. He would not consider the fact that this slave had worked gratuitously all his life for the master claiming him, and might fairly claim to be the creditor of his master by the price of many horses.

An immense excitement arose in Niagara over this question. The colored people, men and women, met in crowds and resolved that Moseby should never be given back to slavery, and that they would resist to death any attempt to carry him away. The white people

sympathized largely with the blacks, and encouraged them in their resistance to the surrender. They sent strong petitions to the Lt.-Governor not to give up a fugitive slave under the pretence of horse stealing.

The Lt.-Governor replied that his duty was clearly to give up Moseby as a felon, although he would have armed the Province to protect a slave.

The colored people came in crowds and encamped night and day before the gates of the gaol to rescue Moseby as soon as he should be brought out. They were directed in their movements by a very clever mulatto schoolmaster named Holmes, and were day after day addressed by an eloquent colored woman named Mrs. Carter, whose fiery speeches roused the multitude to frenzy. The women were particularly excited. They stood in solid phalanx before the gaol gates singing negro hymns, praying and encouraging the men never to allow the fugitive to be delivered up to his masters. This scene lasted over a week, when the sheriff received orders from the Government to at once deliver up the prisoner. Accordingly, on the 25th September a large posse of constables under the direct orders of the sheriff, having handcuffed Moseby and placed him in a wagon, with guards on all sides of him, issued out of the gaol gates. The colored people were ready for them. Holmes and another colored man seized the horses' heads, and others shoved sticks between the spokes and locked the wheels of the wagon. The women also stood in front in a mass to stop its progress. A scuffle at once ensued; shots were fired by some of the guard; Holmes was killed, many others were wounded. Some of the guards were also hurt. Moseby, an active man, got his handcuffs off and leaped out of the wagon, and was instantly lost in the crowd. A powerful black woman seized the deputy-sheriff, Alex. McLeod, round the waist and held him fast so that he could not get away. Mrs. Carter stood on a wagon, calling on the people in the wildest strain of impassioned oratory to rescue the captive and never give him up while they had life. Moseby had the sympathy of the whites generally. The gaoler, Wheeler, was supposed to have connived at the handcuffs having been put so loosely on Moseby that he easily got his hands out of them. He had friends, too, among the sheriff's posse, who made but

a mere show of resistance to the crowd of blacks. Indeed the sympathy of the whole Province was on the side of the slave, and the people were glad to hear of his rescue.

The celebrated Mrs. Jameson relates in her book of "Winter Scenes" that she saw Mrs. Carter at Niagara in 1837, and spoke to her about the occurrence in which she had borne so prominent a part. Mrs. Jameson says: "She was a fine creature, about twenty-five. Her black eyes flashed with excitement as she extended her arms or folded them on her bosom with an attitude and expression of resolute dignity which a painter might have studied."

She said to Mrs. Jameson: "Yes, I was happy here, but now I don't know. I thought we were safe here. I thought nothing could touch us on British ground."

She was proud of her part in the rescue of Moseby. Mrs. Carter died at Niagara several years after. Moseby lived quietly the rest of his life in St. Catharines and Niagara.

The principal leader and hero of this rescue was the mulatto Holmes, who willingly gave his life to preserve the liberty of a poor fugitive slave. He was buried in the cemetery of the colored Baptist church in Niagara. No stone marks his grave, and none now can point out the spot.

The Governor's view of the matter was not approved of in the Province generally. It was considered that a slave taking a horse of his master to aid him in escaping from slavery was a venial offence, and not to be ranked with felonious horse stealing. This was the last attempt ever made by a Governor of Canada to surrender a fugitive slave on any pretence.

The colored people in Canada were very loyal, and a large company of them enlisted during the rebellion and served under Captain Johnson Clench on the frontier—good and trusty soldiers they were.

The question of the Clergy Reserves inflamed party politics and broke up the old harmony which had existed so long, and drew many loyal men under the influence of a new agitator, William Lyon McKenzie, a countryman and imitator of Robert Gourlay. McKenzie first settled at Queenston, and there started a newspaper, *The Colonial Advocate,* which in personalities, rancour and venom exceeded anything yet seen in Canada, or since. McKenzie took up the clergy

reserve disputes, the land grants, the war losses, taxes, and characters of public men, the last especially. Men in those days were more sensitive than now to what newspapers said of them, and savage feelings were evoked by every issue of McKenzie's paper. This led to a remarkable prosecution of McKenzie by William Hamilton Merritt, the gallant Captain of Provincial Dragoons in the war of 1812 and the promoter of the Welland Canal. McKenzie attacked him on all points in the foulest language, charging him with frauds and falsifications in canal affairs. Merritt sued him for libel, and a great and prolonged trial took place in the court at Niagara. Needless to go over it—Merritt beat McKenzie in the court, to the general satisfaction of reasonable men, and McKenzie, finding Niagara offered him too narrow a scope for his ambition, removed to York, and there published his weekly *Colonial Advocate*, which, in the paucity of newspapers at that day in the country, was extensively read, and influenced party spirit to a serious degree, and with a bad effect on McKenzie himself, for it led him to exaggerate his powers of mischief. He misunderstood the inherent loyalty of the people generally, and could not foresee that they would rise and crush any armed rebellion, no matter who tried it.

The elections, 1836, had turned against McKenzie's party. He was himself returned, but the new Parliament turned him out, and McKenzie, without the knowledge of the leaders of the Reform party—Baldwin, Bidwell, Rolf, Morrison and others—formed a conspiracy with his personal followers to rise in arms and overthrow the Provincial Government, take possession of Toronto, and virtually proclaim an independent State.

Sir Francis Bond Head had, in pursuance of a policy adopted by him, sent away to Lower Canada every regular solder in garrison in Upper Canada—for one reason to assist Sir John Colborne to suppress the rebellion of Papineau in the District of Montreal, and, for another reason, to demonstrate that the loyal people of Upper Canada as local militia could suppress McKenzie if he went to the length of rebelling, which no one yet believed he was fool enough to do.

The effect of this was to encourage McKenzie to armed rebellion. The news of his gathering his adherents in arms on the 5th Decem-

ber seemed at first too ridiculous for belief, but when it was learned to be really true the people woke up as by a thunder clap, and mustered in arms by troops and regiments of militia, and without a day's delay made Toronto their goal, and it was who could get there the soonest to put down the wicked rebellion of a mad politician, who was so far in earnest that he really tried to put in practice the disloyal doctrines he had for years been declaiming about in his speeches and writings.

On the 7th December the townspeople were astonished to see the steamer *Transit*, with flags flying, coming across the lake from Toronto, where she had been laid up for the winter. Hundreds of conjectures were made as to the cause of her trip. The people flocked to the wharf, and at once an officer of the staff came ashore with orders from Colonel FitzGibbon, who was in command of the militia of the Province. He told the astonished crowd that a rebellion had been started back of Toronto by McKenzie, and that Captain Garrett, an old officer of the 49th under General Brock, was directed to muster the pensioners and retired soldiers who were at Niagara, and go at once to Toronto on board the *Transit* with them, and such others of the loyal townsmen as volunteered to accompany them. There were living in Niagara then about two hundred pensioners—old soldiers discharged at various periods from the regular regiments stationed there. Capt. Garrett immediately ordered out this body of old soldiers, who to a man turned out at his order. The magistrates also met and called for volunteers. There was at that time a splendid fire company in Niagara, composed of the most respectable and active men in the town, under the command of their captain, Mr. John Barker, a sturdy Loyalist. He summoned the fire company, explained the danger Toronto stood in, and the whole company of about fifty men volunteered their services to the Government.

Other contingents to support the Government went from the Gore District under the command of Col. McNabb, and indeed such was the number of Loyalists who came forward that the Lt.-Governor ordered no more to come. He had enough. McKenzie's followers were assembled at their appointed rendezvous at Montgomery's tavern on Yonge street, a few miles from the city. They were placed under the military command of one Anderson. Blood was necessary

to seal the rebel cause. A victim soon offered in the person of Colonel Moodie—a fine old retired officer of the regular army. He was riding down Yonge street past the crowd of rebels at Montgomery's, when they ordered him to stop. Not obeying their order he rode on, and was instantly fired upon and killed on the highway. This was the first blood shed in the rebellion. Soon another, on the rebel side, paid the penalty of death. McKenzie's military commander, Anderson, with a party or horsemen, had taken prisoner John Powell, a Niagara man, and another with him, on Yonge street. The rebels were escorting Powell back to Montgomery's, when Powell, who was riding near Anderson, shot him dead with a pistol, and spurring his horse escaped to the city, where he gave the first news of the rebels' advance. The death of Anderson was a great loss to McKenzie, who had no military knowledge himself. John Powell was county registrar of Lincoln, and died many years after the rebellion, and is interred at Niagara.

Colonel FitzGibbon, on the arrival of the Niagara and Gore Volunteers, resolved to march out and attack the rebels on their position at Gallows Hill on Yonge street. FitzGibbon formed his troops in order to attack, placing the Niagara pensioners in the front, followed by the Wentworth and Gore Militia and a strong body of Toronto Loyalists, with one gun and some cavalry. They soon came up to the rebel position, which was defended by about 800 men drawn up on each side of the road. The Niagara pensioners led and at once opened fire upon the rebels, which was feebly returned. The rebels were shaken at the first firing. A general volley followed, and the pensioners, militia and volunteers were ordered to charge with the bayonet, when the rebels broke and fled in all directions. Montgomery's tavern was burnt, also the house nearby of Dr. Gibson, a prominent rebel. McKenzie being well mounted turned to fly among the very first. In less than an hour the affair was all over, and not a rebel was left on the field, except as prisoners and a few killed and wounded—not a great number, for the battle was decided so quickly that the rebels did not wait to be killed, but made their escape as fast as they could. In fact there was no heart in it; they took up arms at the call of McKenzie, thinking it was only to discomfit the party opposed to them in politics. In spirit few of them

were rebels. They had no real grievances except imaginary ones declared by McKenzie to be such, and when the militia were ordered out to suppress rebellion they obeyed the law as a matter of course, and McKenzie's political supporters were as ready as any to put him down.

An example of this shall be recorded here. It happened in the family connection of the writer. Two brothers, men of wealth and position. They had each commanded a company in the 1st Lincoln in the war of 1812. They were brave soldiers, men of iron will and hard tempers. One was a Presbyterian, and on account of the Clergy Reserves had got on the other side of politics from his brother, who was a member of the Church of England. They had also quarreled over land claims, and had not spoken together for many years, although living on adjoining estates. On receipt of the news of the rebellion the former went to his brother's house and saw him. He extended his hand and said: "John, a rebellion has been started at Toronto by McKenzie. No one of our name ever was or could be a rebel. I have supported McKenzie, now I am ready to go with you to fight him. Let us now be friends!" The two brothers were at once reconciled, and were found next day in the ranks of the 1st Lincoln, of which one of them was Colonel. There was great rejoicing at Niagara at the return of the volunteers and pensioners, who had led the attack upon the rebels at Gallows Hill.

McKenzie made his escape towards the Niagara frontier, hiding by day in the houses of his partizans and travelling by night. He reached Wentworth and then made for Queenston, where he crossed the river. Hundreds were on the lookout for him. He had a very narrow escape from some of the militia at the Four Mile Creek, but he managed to elude their search. He got to Buffalo, where he was received with open arms and had abundant promises of help if he would continue the war upon Canada. The rascaldom of Buffalo were placed at his service. He proceeded to organize a Government for Canada, and to issue bonds payable by the sale of lands in the Province. People in Buffalo bought his bonds and so supplied him with money. He forthwith enrolled an army of roughs and scallawags, and, having been allowed to take the State arms out of the military armouries, he armed his followers, and seizing a steamer at

Buffalo called the Caroline he embarked a motley army—which could only have found a match in Falstaff's regiment of scarecrows—and dropped down the river to Navy Island—belonging to Canada,—situated a couple of miles above the great Falls.

The "Canadian Republic" was immediately proclaimed on Navy Island, batteries thrown up and cannon planted. Heavy chevaux de frize were made at the upper end of the island. A flag of one star and two stripes was adopted for the new State. Provisions and whiskey were donated freely in Buffalo, and McKenzie declared his Government established and settled.

But he had to reckon with the militiamen of Upper Canada, still as he wisely kept on his island he felt comparatively safe from attack. On the news of McKenzie's proceedings passing through the Province the country rose in arms, and in a few days a force of several thousand militia and volunteers assembled on the bank of the Niagara opposite Navy Island, under the command of Colonel McNabb. Artillery was brought up and a heavy fire kept up on the island, which, however, being densely wooded and over a mile away, did not damage the rebels much, and who kept up a fire on the militia, which also was inoperative. One or two men only were killed. Colonel McNabb, tired of this sort of warfare, resolved by a bold stroke to capture the rebel steamer, and thus force the evacuation of the island by cutting off their communication with the main land.

Lieutenant Drew of the Royal Navy offered his services to lead an attack in boats to seize and destroy the *Caroline* at her wharf at Schlosser. This was approved of by Colonel McNabb. Lt. Drew selected his men and prepared seven boats, which with ten or twelve men in each were rowed across the river, over two miles, in the night of the 28th December. The expedition was one extremely hazardous, as in the event of any boat making a mistake she would be caught in the current and inevitably carried over the falls, which roared and smoked like a couple of volcanoes just below their crossing place.

Drew and his men were of true British oak. They were ably and skilfully piloted across to the doomed steamer, where no one ever expected them. In a few minutes the gallant Drew with his

men were on deck and in possession of the steamer. A few men only were on board. These were driven on shore, where one man of the rebels was shot—the only casualty. The steamer was quickly hauled out into the rapid current, set on fire, and when all in a blaze was cut loose and allowed to drift swiftly to destruction over the tremendous cataract of Niagara.

Immense was the uproar made in the United States at this broadsider from Canada. Colonel McNabb and others were indicted at Lockport a few days after for the murder of the rebel shot on the wharf, and a general war was threatened in all the newspapers. But the Government of Britain accepted full responsibility for the act, and justified the action of her officers, and when it was found that Britain would go to war if one of her officers was punished for it in the United States the affair was prudently allowed to pass. Alex. McLeod of Niagara was arrested and put on trial at Lockport in 1840. He had not really been in the attack on the *Caroline*, but the Government of Britain declared that war would follow if he was punished. Mr. Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State at Washington, seeing the gravity of the situation, got a jury empanelled at Lockport for the purpose of acquitting McLeod, who did acquit him, and thus that very threatening storm, like some others, blew over. But the affair of the *Caroline* was long a topic of interest on the Niagara frontier. Navy Island was abandoned a few days after by the Rebels and Sympathizers. The President, after the failure of the Rebels, issued a proclamation forbidding the breach of the neutrality laws, and General Scott was sent down to recover the guns and material of the United States at Navy Island, but he in no way stopped the further action of the Sympathizers.

If McKenzie had been a wise or prudent man he would have given up his attack upon the Province, but he was neither. Encouraged by the Americans, he formed a numerous body of freebooters, whom he called "Hunters" and "Sympathizers," with the object of keeping up an irregular war upon Canada. He published "The Caroline Almanac," full of fierce invectives against Canada, and a newspaper just as bad—worse it could not be.

These Sympathizers kept up a steady warfare of pillage and murder for two years on the frontier from Windsor to Prescott,

Many fights took place, and many on both sides were killed. Some of the Sympathizers were shot or hanged. The annoyance and expense they caused to Canada were immense.

McKenzie having failed in his efforts, his American friends ceased to support him, but he was given a berth in the customs house, New York. He did not keep it long, for his inveterate spirit of contention and fault finding led him to attack his superiors, and he was dismissed from his office. He soon became disgusted with his American friends, and, recanting all his bad opinions of the Government of Canada, applied to the British Cabinet for permission to return to Canada and promised to be a good subject ever after.

He wrote a letter to Earl Grey, the Colonial Secretary, in which the following sentiments are expressed, which show the hollow, factious opinions of himself and followers in 1837 :

"A course of careful observation during the last eleven years has fully satisfied me that had the violent movements in which I and many others were engaged on both sides of the Niagara proved successful, that success would have deeply injured the people of Canada whom I then believed I was serving at great risks, that it would have deprived millions, perhaps, of countrymen in Europe of a home on this continent, except upon conditions, though many hundreds of thousands have been constrained to accept them, but are of an exceeding onerous and degrading character.

"There is not a living man on this continent who more sincerely desires that British Government may long continue and give a home and a welcome to the old countryman than myself. The result is not a desire to use power and influence here, but to help if I can and all I can the country of my birth."

McKenzie's appeal was listened to. Pardon was granted, and he returned like Gourlay to Canada, but he had lost his influence. Others had succeeded him in the lead of the party, and although he was elected in Haldimand in opposition to George Brown, the country would not trust him again, and McKenzie lived and died some years after a professedly loyal man and political enemy to those who had taken his seat of power away from him.

After the evacuation of Navy Island the First Lincoln Militia was kept for six weeks longer on duty, under Colonel John D. Servos of Niagara township. The old regiment on the first outbreak of the rebellion on Yonge street had turned out and paraded on the common at Niagara 1,900 strong, with a spirit and unanimity that showed how men at once forgot their political quarrels and united together as one body to defend their flag and country.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1838.

AFTER the evacuation of Navy Island the American Sympathizers, as they called themselves, organized an extensive plan for the conquest of Canada. At every town on their frontier from Detroit to Ogdensburg they formed "Hunters' Lodges," composed of the basest elements of rascaldom in the United States. They armed and drilled everywhere preparatory to an invasion in 1838. One of the first acts they did was the murder of Captain Usher, who lived opposite Navy Island. A party headed by one Lett came over the river in a boat in the night. They went to Usher's house and knocked. He went to the door suspecting no harm, when they shot him through the side window of the hall. The murderer escaped. Another attempt at invasion was made by three or four hundred men from Buffalo, under the command of one Moreau. They got across and at once made for the Short Hills in Pelham, where they surrounded a tavern containing an outpost of Lancers. They captured a piquet, but were incontinently attacked by the main troop of Lancers under Colonel Magarth, and routed with some loss. Moreau was taken prisoner and taken down to Niagara, where he was tried, sentenced to death and hanged in the gaol there. There was no further attempt made on the Niagara frontier. Reinforcements of troops arrived from England. The 43rd Regiment of Infantry, the 93rd Highlanders, the Incorporated Militia, which was commanded by Col. Wm. Kingsmill, and a troop of King's Dragoon Guards were sent up to Niagara and to the Falls, where they remained about a year. They effectually prevented all further attacks on the frontier. By the end of 1838 British regular troops to the number of 20,000 men had arrived in Canada. Their presence, and that only, put a stop to the disgraceful buccaneering warfare, which the Government of the

United States either would not or could not stop. In the summer of 1838 the Sympathizers invaded the Province at Prescott in the eastern and Point Pelee in the western district, and much loss of life and property was the consequence. They were defeated at all points. VanSchoultz and other leaders at Prescott were hanged. Colonel Prince at Sandwich shot on the spot a number of marauders whom he had taken. Rough medicine, but the only course left open for the protection of the country from the thousands of desperate men banded on the opposite frontier to invade and plunder the Province. They took the warning, however, and after the winter of 1838 no further invasion was attempted, but solitary outrages on individuals and property continued until 1839.

In March, 1840, one Lett, the same who had murdered Captain Usher a year previous, came across the river with some others at Queenston. They placed gunpowder within the beautiful monument which the Province had built in honor of General Brock, and with a loud explosion shattered the monument so that it was ready to fall at any time, and could not be repaired.

This atrocious deed roused a feeling of indignation all over the country. Public meetings were held denouncing the act of the then unknown miscreants as an outrage to the memory of Brock, and a public insult to the Province.

Sir George Arthur, in 1838, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor in succession to Sir Francis Bond Head. He by proclamation called a public meeting of the people of Upper Canada, to be held on Queenston Heights on the 13th October, 1840, to consider the question of the rebuilding of the monument. An immense gathering took place on that day. Sir George Arthur presided at the meeting. People came from all parts of Upper and Lower Canada. A procession of seven steamers loaded with people came up the river from Toronto and Hamilton. There were no railways in those days, and the difficulty of travel was much more than at the present time. Eloquent and most stirring speeches were made to the assembled crowds by the Hon. Chief Justice Robinson, Sir Allan McNabb, Judge Macaulay, Hon. Hamilton Merritt, Colonel Kirby, Chief Johnson of the Six Nations, and others. Resolutions were offered and adopted expressive of indignation at the lawless act of the destruc-

tion of the monument, and to open subscriptions for its re-building, and committees were appointed to take charge of the work. The cost was estimated at $20,000. It cost much more, however. Still a good beginning was made, and it was certain that, cost what it might, the Province would make it all good.

An incident shall be mentioned here that took place at the time of this meeting. A number of men stood grouped on the American Heights on the opposite side of the river. They raised a British flag. It was known that they were a lot of Canadian refugees who had fled from Canada with McKenzie, and dared not come back. They took this method of showing their respect to Brock, and it may be their regret at having risen in rebellion against the Queen. The writer viewed them with an eye of pity and regret that they should ever have got into such trouble as led to their exile from their own country.

In 1842 the present court house was built on the the site of the market house, which was pulled down. The distance from the town of the old district court house was the cause of its construction. The attendance of suitors, lawyers, witnesses and jurors at the district courts was great in those days. Three counties—Lincoln, Welland and Haldimand—did their judicial business in Niagara, and a strong feeling existed against the distance of the old court house. The town of Niagara was in possession of a large fund contributed by ground rents of the market block and market fees. These were called the market trusts. This money was appropriated by the town to build the new court house, town hall and market, at a cost of about $30,000. The holding of the courts was held in the new building when it was completed, in about 1843.

No part of America has so complete and useful a system of Municipal Government as the Province of Ontario. To the Hon. Robert Baldwin is due the credit of first establishing district councils, composed of representatives of townships. The council of the District of Niagara in 1842 represented the three counties of Lincoln, Welland and Haldimand. David Thorburn, Esq., M. P. for Lincoln, was appointed the first warden, and a dignified and efficient one he was. He sat in the warden's chair, wearing a black gown, with his cocked hat beside him. He brought in the rules of the House of

Assembly to govern the proceedings of the council, and, in fact, the District Council of Niagara, which met in the large room of the British Hotel, was a creditable Parliament in miniature. It did good work, and set an example for usefulness and order to all other district councils in the Province.

In 1846 an event of great importance to Canada took place by the sudden change of opinion and policy on the part of the British Cabinet, led by Sir Robert Peel, who brought a bill before Parliament for the establishment of free trade without any reservation in the interest of the Colonies. This policy deprived Canada of the preferential privileges she had enjoyed in Britain. It crippled her trade immensely. The markets of the United States were restrictive and an era of bad times set in, which lasted several years. Hon. H. Merritt and others interested in Canadian trade went to London to try and have the old preferential trade retained, but the bigotry of Peel, Cobden, Bright, and the Manchester school was such that they would not change although the world came to an end. The delusion of the free traders was, all other countries would follow their example in free trade, and that England would lead the world in manufactures forever.

The Queen in her speech at the opening of Parliament, 1846, was made to say:

"I recommend you to take into consideration whether the principles on which you have acted may not, with advantage, be yet more extensively applied to make such further reductions as may tend to insure the continuance of the great benefits to which I have adverted and to strengthen the bonds of unity with foreign powers."

Sir Robert Peel is recorded to have said, on introducing his free trade resolutions:

"Wearied with our long and unavailing efforts to enter into a satisfactory commercial treaty with other nations, we have at length resolved to consult our own interests, and you may depend upon it, whatever may be the immediate effect, *our example will be ultimately followed.*"

Half a century has elapsed and not a single nation in the world has followed the example of England, or shown the slightest tendency to do so. A bigger mistake than that of Peel, Cobden and Bright, in their calculations, was never made by statesmen.

The treaty of reciprocity with the United States made by Lord

Elgin in 1854 gave an increase of trade in natural products between that country and Canada. Prices of produce and cattle went up, but it was more the inflation caused by the Crimean war, which commenced in the same year, which gave the impulse to Canadian trade than the treaty. Wheat rose to $1.50 and $2.00 a bushel. Farmers grew rich during that war, and it used to be said that "you could not knock one down on the highway without finding two or three hundred dollars in his pocket." The Crimean war was a godsend to Canadian farmers, who too often gave reciprocity the credit of it, overlooking the real cause.

About 1845 the regiment of Royal Canadian Rifles was embodied, with headquarters in Niagara, under the command of Colonel Wm. Elliot, an old experienced officer of the Duke of Wellington. This regiment was composed of volunteers from the regular army. They served on the frontier until its disbandment in 1858. A great number of the men were discharged in Niagara on pensions, and resided afterwards in the town. A few of them remain until the present time, 1896.

In 1855 the Royal Canadian Regiment, the 100th, was enlisted for service in the Crimea. Many joined its ranks in Niagara, a full company at least, for the military spirit was always strong in the old town. The regiment reached England too late for service in the Crimea, and was sent to Gibraltar.

The Hon. Joseph Howe of Nova Scotia had been sent to the United States to encourage the enlistment of foreigners in a legion to be embodied at Niagara for the Crimea. The prejudices against England and in favor of Russia prevented the success of the scheme, although a number of Germans and other foreigners came to Niagara for enlistment. The legion was not formed. Mr. Howe had to escape from the United States, being threatened with arrest. He came to Niagara, where he was most courteously received by the society of the town, and visited among others the writer of this, then the publisher of the *Mail* newspaper. Howe often came into the office and showed his ability as a practical printer by sometimes setting a few sticks of type, to the delight of the workmen in the office. Howe was a man of great powers of mind and versatile talents, but his visit to the United States on this recruiting business opened his eyes

wider than they had ever been before to the inherent hostility of the United States to Britain and her Colonies.

The progress of the war in the Crimea, 1854-5, was watched with the keenest interest and sympathy with Britain by the whole population of Canada, and by none more than by the people of Niagara. On the receipt of the glorious news of the fall of Sebastopol the townspeople were wild with joy. A general celebration took place on the Fort George common and in the town. An immense bonfire was made on the common, a whole ox was roasted, and with bread and ale *ad libitum* a memorable feast was held in honor of the victory. Next night the whole town was illuminated. Hardly a pane of glass in it was seen without a lighted candle. An immense public meeting was held in the court house, and large subscriptions made to the "Patriotic Fund" in aid of the widows and children of the gallant men who had fallen in the Crimea. Old Niagara never failed in its duty on a question of patriotism.

In the summer of 1860 a great Indian ball play was held on Niagara common between the Mohawks of the Grand River and the Senecas of Cataraugus, N. Y. An immense number of Indians, men and women, all in holiday attire, were present, as well as some thousands of white people, to see the real game of bagatawayo played by those whose native game it was. The Mohawks were under the direction of Chief Johnson the elder, the head of the Six Nations; the Senecas were under their head chief, William Jones, also a famous Indian. The play lasted nearly all day. The weather was fine, and the games fluctuated between the two parties, whose running and batting of the ball were very clever. The most of the players were quite naked, except the loin cloth. All exhibited great skill and dexterity. The game was finally decided in favor of the Senecas, who went home in triumph with the prizes won at Niagara. This was probably the last Indian game of ball (or lacrosse) which will ever be played by Indians on Niagara common.

In that same year, 1860, began the great civil war in the United States between the North and South, which made a great impression on Canada as a neighbor and witness of a mad conflict brought on by the intrigues and machinations of rival political parties contending for the power and patronage of the Government. Congress,

under the impulse of party, made slavery a political question, although it had the clearest right under the Constitution to be independent of Federal jurisdiction. The Northern Abolitionists, while overflowing in moral sentiment over the "Higher Law" of liberty to the negro, were stingy of their money, and would not listen to any proposal of compensation to the slave owners for the liberation of their slaves. The typical conscience of the puritan refused to pay, but demanded as a right the freedom of the slaves in spite of the constitutional compacts to which they had been parties.

The shippers and traders of the North carried on the slave trade with Africa so long as it was profitable, but when the States of Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky and North Carolina raised slaves to supply the cotton states in sufficient numbers, and African negroes were not wanted, then the New England traffickers and dealers in cheap morality took up their burden against Southern slavery, and the troubles began all along the line. Slavery was a cursed institution, but it was not in the mouth of New England to say so, which had been so largely profited by it. The raid of John Brown and the savage civil war in Kansas brought the question to a national issue, and the civil war began in 1861 with unheard of bloodshed and destruction of property, and with consequences yet alive and breeding fresh troubles in coming years.

The seizure of Mason and Slidell, the two Southern ambassadors, on their way to Europe on board the British steamer *Trent*, by Commodore Wilkes with an American war ship, roused a feeling of anger all over the Empire. In Canada this act was felt to be one which, if unatoned for, must lead to war. The loyal people of Canada made preparations for hostilities. The militia were called out, and everyone expected war unless Mason and Slidell were given up on the demand of the British Government. A volunteer company was formed in Niagara, of which John Powell was captain, William Kirby lieutenant, and Edward Thompson ensign, with a fine lot of men, who drilled every night, in expectation of active service. That company is now number one of the 19th Battalion of the county of Lincoln.

Niagara as an exposed point on the frontier presented an example of calm courage, waiting for the decision of the American

Government on the demand of Great Britain. The First Lincoln was mustered in the market square under Colonel Joseph Clement and Major Hiscott, the river bank was surveyed and places marked for batteries, cannon were on their way from Quebec and had reached Hamilton, when news came that the United States had agreed to the surrender of Mason and Slidell, and the danger of war passed over for a time.

The outbreak of the civil war in the States had a singular effect in Canada. Specie coin disappeared wholly in the States, nothing but paper irredeemable in coin circulated in that country. The silver of the United States came in a stream to Canada, where, while it stimulated trade, it burthened transactions with a flood of silver. It was usually tied up in five or ten dollar packages, and passed from hand to hand without counting. The war in the States caused an immense demand in Canada for horses, cattle, and farm produce of all kinds. The farmers grew richer than ever out of the war in the States. A great influx of Southern leaders and statesmen took place as the war went on and the fortunes of the North prevailed over the South, which, in consequence of the blockade closely kept up in the Southern seaports, began to give way to the superior forces of their enemy.

Niagara offered a ready shelter to many exiled or refugee Southerners, who took up their abode here during the war. Among them were Senator Mason of Virginia, the same who had been seized by Commodore Wilkes on board the *Trent*. He lived in the brick cottage on the church lot of St. Mark's. Jefferson Davis, President of the Southern Confederacy, was for a time his guest. General Breckenridge of Kentucky, who lived on Front street; General Early, who boarded at Mr. Barker's; General Hood, who lived in a house on Front street; James Clay, son of Henry Clay of Kentucky—he was ill, and went to Europe and died there; J. Porterfield of Nashville, Tennessee; Col. Taylor of Newport, Kentucky; also C. Hellems of Newport—he had been American Consul at Havana, Cuba, where he received the cotton from the Southern States on behalf of the Confederacy; the Rev. Dr. Leacock, rector of the principal Episcopal church in New Orleans, a most learned and kindly man. His property had been

confiscated. He officiated over a year in charge of St. Mark's, Niagara, during the absence in England of the Rev. Dr. McMurray, who was sent to seek funds for the support of Trinity College. Rev. Dr. Leacock was accompanied by his daughter, Mrs. Grey, the widow of a killed Confederate officer. He was an English graduate of Oxford, long domiciled in New Orleans. He lived in Doritty's house, King street, while in Niagara. The Rev. Stuart Robinson was also one of the refugees. He was minister of the largest Presbyterian church in Louisville, Kentucky—an able and powerful preacher. The Rev. Mr. Inslee was another. He was a missionary in China, but dismissed by the American Board of Missions because he sympathized with the South. General Palfrey was also here, a refugee from New Orleans. He was an aged man. He was drowned, with his daughter, on his return home after the war, on board the steamer *North Star*, which foundered at sea. Hon. Mr. Howard of North Carolina and Mr. Gordon, a leading merchant of Louisville, Kentucky, were also here for some time—refugees from the South. Quite a number of Morgan's troopers who escaped from the State of Ohio found their way to Niagara—Spur, Keiser and others. Niagara was in some sense, from the residence of so many Southerners here, their head-quarters in Canada. They were welcomed and kindly treated by the townspeople, and the best of relations subsisted until they finally, one after another, bade us adieu and returned to their ravaged homes and estates in the South. They expected for a long time that England and France would acknowledge the Southern Confederacy, raise the blockades, and thus place the South on an equality with the North. It is known that the Emperor Louis Napoleon and Lord Palmerston, Minister for Foreign Affairs, were favorable to that step, and it was not taken because the Queen and Prince Albert vetoed the proposal. To these two alone are the United States indebted for the restoration of their Union today, and small thanks are awarded them for it.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1860.

IN 1860 began a struggle in the county of Lincoln, instigated by the town of St. Catharines, for the removal of the county seat from Niagara to that place. Naturally the old town opposed with all its might a change which could not have but a disastrous effect upon its prosperity. The town of Niagara in public meeting appointed two prominent members of their council to organize a series of meetings throughout the county of Lincoln, and to address the people with reasons and arguments against the removal of the county seat from Niagara to St. Catharines.

They appointed Mr. John Simpson, the reeve, and Mr. Wm. Kirby, the deputy-reeve at that time, to represent the town's interests before the ratepayers of the county. A series of meetings called in every township and village in the county was arranged. The town of St. Catharines on its part appointed Mr. J. Charles Rykert, Mr. Saxon, Mr. J. G. Currie, Mr. McGiverin and others, to represent that town in the meetings.

An immense agitation was got up in the county, and for six weeks Mr. Simpson and Mr. Kirby addressed public meetings, most numerously attended, and debated the question of removal with the delegates of St. Catharines. They succeeded so far in prevailing upon the county ratepayers to oppose the removal that upon the final vote of the county upon the by-law the majority in the county, outside of the town of St. Catharines, was against removal, and the large, unanimous vote of St. Catharines alone carried it. But the end was not yet. It was necessary to have an Act of Parliament to sanction the removal, and the town of Niagara petitioned Parliament not to pass a bill for removal that did not contain a clause for paying to the town the amount it had expended in the erection of the court house.

Mr. Wm. Kirby was sent to Quebec, where the Parliament then sat, to obtain compensation. A long struggle ensued, but the bill finally passed with a clause ordering the sum of eight thousand dollars to Niagara, to be paid by the county as compensation for removal.

The removal of course took place, and it was a serious blow to the town, which never recovered from it to the present time. It was resolved, however, to make the best use of the compensation money to the public advantage, and accordingly a joint stock company was organized to build the Royal Niagara Hotel, with twenty thousand dollars stock. The town invested its eight thousand dollars, and the hotel was built, costing $25,000, which was after given to Captain Dick for nothing.

By the removal of the gaol, courts of justice, the judge, sheriff, registrar, treasurer, county clerk, and other persons connected with the county administration was inflicted a severe blow upon the old town, and which it felt for many years after.

The car works, built by Mr. S. Zimmerman, the promoter and contractor of the Canada Southern Railway, had also closed, by reason of his death in the terrible Desjardins canal bridge accident, March 12th, 1857. Niagara had also borrowed largely of the Government Municipal Loan Fund to build the Erie and Niagara Railway, and the load of debt upon the town was a depressing charge which hung like a mill-stone about its neck for many years, until the Canada Southern Railway, by taking it over, relieved us and connected the town with the Canada Southern.

On the 12th March, 1888, died the Hon. Josiah Burr Plumb, who had been the last representative in the Dominion Parliament of Niagara, and was Speaker of the Senate. Mr. Plumb was one of a numerous class of rich, intelligent Americans who, having no faith in the continuance of democratic institutions, removed to Canada to enjoy the security and protection of British law for person and property. This class of persons is becoming quite numerous in Canada. They readily drop off their republicanism, and become loyal citizens and good subjects of the Crown. The stream of these people to England and Canada is one of the remarkable but natural features of the present time.

On the cessation of the civil war in the United States that country was filled with multitudes of disbanded soldiers, who roamed over the country as tramps, begging or demanding subsistence from the people, and through fear usually got what they demanded, and furnished ready recruits for any lawless enterprise that offered. Many were enlisted to make war upon Cuba. Many more were enlisted in the Fenian service. A vast organized conspiracy was formed for the "liberation of Ireland" as it was termed, but really to make war upon Canada and plunder the property of its inhabitants, and seize and divide up its lands. Nothing was too wicked or too foolish in the imaginations of these people, fresh from the plunder of the Southern States, to be repeated in Canada. There was no attempt made to check this armed conspiracy, and indeed every sort of support given them by public meeting, State legislators, and even Congress, which admitted on its floor with honours the Irish leaders and approved of their object, the separation of Ireland from the United Kingdom. Thousands of these Fenians were for over a year enrolled, drilled and openly paraded in the cities of the States before they invaded Canada.

Our people, accustomed to such bravado, did not take the movement seriously and made no preparation for an invasion until it actually came upon them like a surprise, on the 1st June, 1866, when a large force of Fenians, about 1200 in number, under their General O'Neil, crossed over from Buffalo and took possession of the village of Fort Erie. Buffalo had been made the grand rendezvous of the Fenian troops from all parts of the States. Upwards of ten thousand well armed men arrived in Buffalo inside of three days after the 1st June, after O'Neil's army had crossed over and been driven back. Had O'Neil waited two days longer before crossing he would have had at least ten thousand men, and the invasion would have been far more formidable than it was. It is generally believed that Major Caron, an English spy, high in command of the Fenian army, caused O'Neil to precipitate his operations before waiting for all his forces. If that be so our country owes a debt of gratitude to Caron, for had the whole Fenian force come upon us at once many more valuable lives might have been sacrificed and millions of property stolen and destroyed before the invaders were defeated.

On the morning of the 1st June the Fenians left Fort Erie and commenced a plundering march through the rich township of Bertie, breaking into and robbing every farm house and farm yard on their line of march. The farmers of Bertie, to a man almost, left their homes to drive their horses and cattle into the great tamarac swamp. The Fenians advanced about seven miles to Ridgeway, and there encamped to await reinforcements from Buffalo.

A Canadian force was at Port Colborne under the command of Colonel Booker, a good officer but not experienced in war. He had with him the Queen's Own Volunteers of Toronto, and the 13th Battalion from Hamilton, and a few detached companies. He commenced his march towards the enemy, but with strict orders not to fight before he was joined by a large force from Niagara and Toronto, consisting of the 47th Regiment of Infantry, the 19th Battalion of Volunteers, the Grey Battery of Royal Artillery, and some local militiamen. These troops were under the command of Colonel Peacock. They pushed at once to the Falls, and left Chippawa on the morning of the 2nd to intercept the enemy and join their forces to those of Colonel Booker.

Colonel Booker advanced his troops to Limestone Ridge, and on the morning of the 2nd June he came unexpectedly upon the army of the Fenians, whom he found in a strongly entrenched camp, with heavy breastworks of fence rails across and on either side of the main road. Booker, with an imprudent disregard of his orders, attacked the enemy's position at once. The Fenians were all ex-soldiers of the American and Confederate Armies, well armed and disciplined. They were just out of actual war service, and so were able to resist the attack of the Canadians. Booker attempted to storm their breastworks under a heavy fire, and many brave young Canadians were killed in the charge. But they would have succeeded in carrying the position had not Booker's attention been drawn to the left of the Fenians, where a number of horsemen appeared, who were thought to be cavalry preparing for a charge upon the Queen's Own. He ordered his men to form square for cavalry, which they did in face of the line of Fenians, who at once concentrated their fire upon the men massed in square. It was at once seen that a blunder had been committed. The square wavered

and presently broke. A panic ensued, and the Queen's Own retired in confusion, followed by the 13th. The Fenians followed but a little way, and returned in haste to their camp, which they abandoned and retreated back to Fort Erie. The news of Peacock's advance on their flank gave spurs to their flight. They left all their plunder in their camp, also their dead—a considerable number—and hastened back helter skelter to Fort Erie, in order to re-cross to Buffalo. A number of volunteers of the Welland Field Battery had come into Fort Erie and were posted in Lewis' tavern, where they were suddenly surrounded by the returning Fenians, and a heavy fire was poured into the house, a wooden one. The defenders had no chance against such a host. They surrendered, and were allowed to depart. Their commander, Capt. King of Port Robinson, lost a leg in this skirmish. While this was going on the American shore at Buffalo and Black Rock was lined with thousands of the sympathizers and friends of the Fenians—which was everybody, almost, in the city—who cheered madly at every volley fired by the Fenians at the Canadians. This was all in perfect keeping with the conduct of the Americans generally in the warfare they permitted to be made upon Canada. The memory of those demoniacal cheers will not die out in Ontario.

Colonel Peacock advanced with his column, reaching the village of New Germany about noon on the 2nd, and not before then was he able to get any information as to the whereabouts of the Fenians or of Booker's defeat. After a rest of an hour or two at New Germany, where he was joined by Colonel G. T. Denison with the cavalry troop of the Governer-General's Body Guard, he advanced towards Ridgeway, and dark coming on, he encamped in the fields two or three miles north of Ridgeway. Next morning word was brought that the Fenians had decamped and gone back to Fort Erie, whither Peacock marched his force and arrived in time only to see the tail end of them crossing over to Buffalo.

The six or seven miles of country passed over by the Fenians had been plundered thoroughly. The marauders had learned their work in Sherman's march through Georgia, and everywhere in the South. Canada had a nasty taste of the new style of warfare, and never got any redress or compensation for the violence and robberies committed on her soil in the Fenian invasion.

Ten days after the repulse and failure of the invasion, the President of the United States, Johnson, issued a proclamation forbidding attacks upon a friendly State. The Canadian people discounted in full, and just at what it was worth, this late and lame apology for the attack upon their country.

The conduct of the American Government in regard to the Fenian invasion of Upper Canada has always been suspected of connivance with the Fenian leaders. The truth of the matter seems now established in the remarkable work of Major Le Caron, the detective on the Fenian conspiracy. Le Caron in his book, pages 58 and 59, says that he accompanied Gen. O'Neil on an interview with President Andrew Johnson, at the White House, Washington, in 1868. Le Caron says:

"Our reception at the White House was a cordial one. During the conversation the President used some remarkable words. So strange did they sound in my ears that they impressed themselves upon my memory, and are even now fresh in my recollection. "General" said Johnson, addressing O'Neil, "your people unfairly blame me a good deal for the part I took in stopping your first movement. Now I want you to understand that my sympathies are entirely with you, and anything that lies in my power I am willing to do to assist you. But you must remember that I gave you five full days before issuing my proclamation stopping you. What in God's name more did you want? If you could not get there in five days, by God! you could never get there; and then, as President, I was compelled to enforce the neutrality laws or be denounced on every side."

Such was the language used, such the position assumed, and such the apology tendered to the Fenian leader of 1866, by the President of the United States.

A raid upon the Niagara frontier at or below Queenston was part of the Fenian plan of invasion. This was intended to be simultaneous with the crossing at Fort Erie, but delay occurred in the operation. It was not till the 4th that a large propeller with a great number of Fenians on board came into the mouth of the river, with intention to go up to Lewiston, where about six hundred were to be waiting, which she was to take across the river. The six hundred actually marched down from the Falls to Lewiston, but the propeller not making connection they went back, and the propeller learning they were not at Lewiston did not go further up the the river. The affair miscarried, and the propeller returned to the place she came from.

The people of Niagara were on the *qui vive* at this time. They met in the court house. All the troops, including the town company, were at Fort Erie, but it was resolved to defend the town, although an order was given by Colonel Durie from Toronto to retire upon St. Catharines, he knowing that we had no troops and that the Fenians were expected in large force. About 200 citizens were collected and armed with rifles from the stores of the 47th. Angus Morrison, our representative in the Parliament, brought the arms over from Toronto, so a respectable body of resolute armed men was assembled. They occupied Fort Mississaugua and the river bank, ready to contest any landing from the propeller. Wm. Kirby and Herbert Geale took a carriage load of rifles and ammunition to Queenston and armed a number of the inhabitants of that village, and arrangements for the defence of the river bank were decided on. The failure of the propeller to connect in time with Lewiston disconcerted all the Fenian plans; and after watching the river for a week the guard was discontinued. The design of the Fenians in this attempt was, in case of a crossing being effected, to march direct to St. Catharines. The plunder of the banks and stores of that town was a sweet morsel of anticipation to the horde of thieves who composed the rank and file of the Fenian army.

The Fenian attacks upon Canada were renewed on the frontier of Quebec in 1867-1868, but were ignominiously defeated. There was no further attempt upon the Niagara lines after the invasion of 1866.

A number of Fenians had, however, collected at Youngstown, and on the night of the 5th June opened a fire of rifles across the river at the town—fortunately without hitting any person, although a number of houses were struck by rifle balls. A deputation of citizens crossed over in a boat to Fort Niagara and interviewed Major Kane, the commandant, who, in a spirit of friendliness, at once sent a company of soldiers into the Oak Bush and expelled the Fenians from their covert, and stopped the firing.

The attitude of the United States was not commendable through all these turmoils. They would take no active steps to arrest the offenders against their neutrality laws, and, as is well remembered, refused any compensation to Canada for the losses of

her people and the expenses the Government were put to to defend us against these lawless aggressions from the United States.

The Fenian attack upon the Province in 1866 roused a feeling of patriotism and defiance in our Province, that showed the glowing fires that lay under the usually impassive demeanour of the Canadian people. Perhaps in nothing was this feeling more conspicuous than in the vast and spontaneous outburst of poetry and national songs of all shapes, especially in the newspapers and periodicals of the time. Some of these songs were of a high degree of poetical beauty, but all of them impassioned with the eloquent spirit of patriotic fervor that rang through the land. The enemies of Canada might and did learn from them how impossible it was to overcome such a people as ours, full of the spirit of law, liberty and courage, inherited from a glorious past.

It was like the keen, fiery sympathy which animated Canadians towards England during the Crimean war, mourning for her losses and glorying in her victories.

I will copy one specimen out of the hundreds of songs that filled the press at that time. This was from the pen of J. Ward Stone, Pine Grove, Niagara township:

To the front, volunteers! bid the plundering hordes
Know the land they would waste is surrounded with swords.
To the front, volunteers! meet their stealthy advance
With the rifle-sped bullet and far-gleaming lance.

We will stand by our colors,
And death to the crew
That would harm that old standard,
The red, white and blue.

At the call to turn out we will fearlessly arm,
And respond to the note of the bugle's alarm.
"Double march" to the field where the foe is arrayed
To give him a welcome with rifle and blade.

We will stand by our colors,
And death to the crew
That would harm that old standard,
The red, white and blue.

We will strike for our God and the rights of the free,
"For our homes and our loves" shall the battle cry be,
And the heart that thrills not with delight at the sound
In the breast of a traitor can only be found.

We will stand by our colors,
And death to the crew
That would harm that old standard,
The red, white and blue.

Shall we yield our fair land to the vandals' foul tread,
To pollute our dear homes with the ravished and dead?
No! No! No! to the front! let the plunderers fall
By our quick stroke of sabre and unerring ball.

We will stand by our colors,
And death to the crew
That would harm that old standard,
The red, white and blue.

We forget not that Wolfe and his heroes had bled
Upon Abraham's Heights, ere the enemy fled;
And the thought of the price for that victory paid,
Shall give aim to each bullet and force to each blade.

We will stand by our colors,
And death to the crew
That would harm that old standard,
The red, white and blue.

Gallant Brock not in vain for our liberty died,
Where the Heights overlook proud Niagara's tide,
And as then, so forever, invaders shall flee
From the valorous charge of the loyal and free.

We will stand by our colors,
And death to the crew
Who would harm that old standard,
The red, white and blue.

To the front, volunteers! bid the plundering hordes
Know the land they would waste is surrounded with swords.
To the front, volunteers! meet their stealthy advance
With the rifle-sped bullet and far-gleaming lance.

We will stand by our colors,
And death to the crew
Who would harm that old standard,
The red, white and blue.

In 1870 Miss Rye, a prominent philanthropist, purchased the old gaol and court house for the purpose of turning it into a home for the reception of orphan and destitute girls, who were sent out from England as emigrants to be placed in suitable homes for service or adoption in Canada. Miss Rye completely renovated the large, old edifice, built new buildings to it as adjuncts, surrounded them with

gardens, orchards and lawns. She made the place an ideal home of beauty and restfulness, and gave it the name of "Our Western Home."

Miss Rye has been most diligent and methodical in the discharge of the important trusts of the Western Home. She has, up to 1895, brought out from England over five thousand children, girls, whom she has after a short training placed in Canadian homes, to the great benefit of both children and those who received them. These children, selected from the poorest class of orphans, have turned out well for the most part, and have become useful members of Canadian society, with as few failures—there must needs be a few—as any equal number of girls exhibit anywhere.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1870.

SINCE then Niagara has gone on its quiet way, thanks to those who stuck to the old town when fortune, as in the case of the county seat, went against it. Its pure air, by which health is supped up by spoonfuls; its clear limestone springs and wells are a delight to drink and longed for by all, who, when far away, remember them as David remembered and longed for a drink from the well at the gate of Bethlehem. Her streets are completely planted with maple and elm trees, and resound with the pleasant noise of the feet and voices of the prettiest children in the world, rosy with health and dressed with neatness, going to school, and the High and Common schools of Niagara rank among the best in the land. The children inherit much of the grace of their progenitors, the U. E. Loyalists. An observant eye sees it everywhere. Lake Ontario and Niagara River are possessions which can never be taken away, and the beautiful open commons and Paradise Grove would be large for the use of a city. The population is not great for a town, but it is comfortable and content, that is a great point in this life, and as for the next, Niagara is as near Heaven as any town whatever, and nearer than some others.

For a whole century—from the beginning of St. Mark's congregation—but three clergymen had charge of the parish: The Rev. Dr. Addison, the Rev. Thomas Creen and the Ven. Archdeacon McMurray. This speaks well for longevity, and indeed longevity is a natural product. It ripens well in Niagara and keeps late, with a rosy cheek like its well-flavored winter apples.

Its oldest monuments, like Fort Mississagua and Fort George, remain in slow decay. On the latter, on the high west bastion, has grown a stately sycamore tree—the only one on the ramparts—that shows many years of peace have passed over the old warlike Fort. A Niagara lady, Miss Janet Carnochan, who has written much and

well on the history of the old town, has also written a charming poem on "Fort George's lonely Sycamore" which, but for its length, I would reproduce here. I recommend its perusal in a pamphlet of her's entitled, "Two Frontier Churches." The opening stanzas I append:

"O lone tree on the rampart's height,
What hast thou seen, what canst thou tell,
Of peaceful watch or desperate fight,
O lonely, only sentinel?
But tell me first what sweet fair sight,
Extending far and wide before,
Thou seest from thy vantage height—
O lonely, only Sycamore."

On August 11, 1884, a great historical celebration took place at Niagara, in honor and commemoration of the arrival of the United Empire Loyalists at this place and the first settlement of the Province in 1784. An immense platform was erected on the edge of the Oak Grove, surmounted with masts and staffs bearing British flags. The platform was gaily decorated with evergreens, and presented a brilliant spectacle. Upon it were some hundreds of the descendants of the Loyalists, ladies and gentlemen, all wearing the red silk badges of the day. A deputation of thirty chiefs of the Six Nations, from Grand River, with their flags and band of music, with the old Chief Johnson, and John Buck, hereditary fire keeper of the Long House, and other prominent Indians. Chief Hill, a great-grandson of Joseph Brant, and other Mohawks from the Bay of Quinte, were also present. Eloquent speeches were addressed to the people in front and on the platform by the chairman, Robt. N. Ball of Niagara, Lt.-Governor Robinson, Colonel G. T. Denison, William Kirby, Bishop Fuller, Senator Hon. J. B. Plumb, Chief Hill and Chief Smith of the Six Nations, Wm. Hamilton Merritt, I. P. Willson, C. Kilborn, and others. The meeting was enthusiastic. The day was warm but pleasant, as befitted the occasion. A full account of this and other U. E. Loyalist celebrations was published in a volume issued by the Rose Publishing Co., Toronto, in 1885.

In 1892, on the 17th September, another grand centennial celebration was held in the town of Niagara, to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the meeting of the first session of the first Parliament of Upper Canada.

The meeting was attended by representative gentlemen from all parts of the Province and a great assembly of people of all classes. A large platform, decorated with British flags, was erected in the town park, where the meeting was addressed by the Hon. Oliver Mowat, Premier of Ontario, Col. Denison, Dr. Oronyatekha and many others. It was a great and honorable commemoration of the greatest event in our history. It is greatly to be desired that a worthy monument be erected at Niagara in honor of the Loyalists who landed at this place in 1784 and laid the sure foundations of Upper Canada, and who in 1792, by their representative here and leader, Lt.-Governor Simcoe, established Constitutional Government with all its attendant civil liberties, which have come down to us and which we enjoy unimpaired at the present day.

In that same year was an interesting centennial celebration of the establishment of St. Mark's parish. A great assemblage of the clergy and laity of the Church of England were present at the services, which lasted three days, and in 1894 the Presbyterian church of St. Andrew's celebrated its hundredth anniversary by a large gathering of clergy and laity, with appropriate services for three days.

Since then nothing has happened out of the ordinary course of events in the old town.

The Town of Niagara until the year 1845 formed a part of the township, and its inhabitants met at the town meetings, at the same place and time as the country people, for the election of pathmasters, poundkeepers and other rural officials.

In 1845 the town was set apart as a municipality, with a president and board of police, with power to manage its affairs. In 1850 it was regularly incorporated as a town, with five wards—St. George, St. David, St. Andrew, St. Patrick and St. Lawrence—each returning three councillors to represent it in the town council. This was afterward changed to three wards, viz., East, Center and Western wards. The mayor was at first elected from the council. The corporation was invested with power to manage the town affairs.

Mr. Richard Miller was the first President of the Board of Police.

The following is a list of the mayors of this town since 1850 :

	When Elected.
Davidson, Alex.	1850.
Boomer, Geo.	1851.
Simpson, Jno.	1852.
Lawder, J. M.	1857.
Mercer, S. W.	1858.
Clench, F. A. B.	1859.
Wilson, Dr. R. M.	1861.
Paffard, H	1863.
Bishop, Jno.	1875.
Paffard, H.	1876.
Follett, I. H.	1881.
Winterbottom, —	1883.
Garrett, H. A.	1884.
Milloy, W. A.	1886.
Paffard, H.	1888.
Paffard, H.	1889.

The list of collectors of customs for fifty years, ending 1895, was Thomas McCormick, John Simpson, Capt. Taylor and William Kirby, Esqs.,—the latter of whom held the office for twenty-four years and retired in 1895.

The list of postmasters in Niagara for the same half century was Wm. Crooks, Alex. Davidson, Robert Connor and Robert Warren.

The mayor and reeve are now elected by the voters of the town. The value of assessed property in the town is about $500,000. Waterworks and electric lights are owned and operated by the corporation. The rate of taxation for town and school purposes is usually about 20 mills in the dollar, on a low valuation.

The town has largely developed into a fashionable summer watering place and resort for summer residents, and promises to increase on those lines.

The fixed population is about 1,200. Many of the original U. E. Loyalist families are still represented by descendants and collater-

als, as the following names will show. Among them are found descendants of the families of

Servos.	Wilson.
Clement.	Secord.
Claus.	Paffard.
Clench.	Geale.
Butler.	Waters.
Kirby.	Rogers.
Whitmore.	Best.
Dickson.	Miller.
Ball.	Garrett.
Fields.	Roe.
Stephenson.	Stevens.
Winterbottom.	McFarland.

Whitten.

In 1842 a great and momentous change was made in the mode of administering the municipal affairs of Upper Canada. Previously to that year the Magistrates in Quarter Sessions had transacted all local municipal matters of the counties. Roads, bridges, assessments for local purposes, the administration of justice and public schools were now placed under the control of a new representative body called District Councils, elected in the various townships of the district.

The first District Council of Niagara represented the three present counties of Lincoln, Welland and Haldimand. The members, a large body, met in the large room of the British Hotel, corner of Queen and Gate streets. The first warden appointed by the Crown was David Thorburn of Queenston, a member of the Provincial Legislature. He presided over the council with dignity and strict parliamentary rules. He was quite a formalist. but a clever warden. He sat with gown on and taught the new ideas of the rural representatives how to comport themselves with strict parliamentary procedure in the District Council.

A few years later the townships were gifted with municipal councils also, and, as both county and township councils have come down to us to the present time, Ontario has been in all municipal matters governed abundantly, and taxed accordingly, to the fullest satisfaction of everyone who has a voice and vote, and all have in

the election of these township corporations. The county councils are composed of the reeves and deputy-reeves of the several towns, incorporated villages and townships of each county.

The whole system works well, although the cost of it seems to some to be excessive. Still it has drawbacks, in creating local rivalries, jealousies and dissensions in townships and counties, over the expenditure of the monies raised for local improvements. It too often sets the east side against the west and the north against the south, as private interests came in competition, or jealousy, natural to all mankind, was stirred among them.

It will be found that the loyal principles of their ancestors have come down to their descendants generally. A learned, or, as we should say, unlearned, gentleman in England said to a Niagara-born Canadian, after speaking of the patriotic resolution passed unanimously by the Canadian Parliament in February, 1896, declaring the immovable loyalty to Britain of the Dominion of Canada, remarked that he could not understand this loyalty of Canadians under every circumstance and in face of every danger, even war. We may reply to him that he did not understand because he did not know the origin and history of the U. E. Loyalists—how they had supported the British flag, suffered the bitterest persecution, had their property confiscated, and finally were compelled to leave their native land and take refuge in Canada, where they had to defend themselves and where they conquered their enemies, who followed them again and again and were, and are still, threatening them with subjugation, which can never be effected so long as Britain is true to Canada and Canada true to Britain. Had the gentleman who could not understand known this, he would no longer have remained ignorant of the reason why Canada is so loyal to the Empire. He might have read, and then he would have understood the burning words of Butler in "Hudibras:"

> "For loyalty is still the same,
> Whether it win or lose the game,
> True as the dial to the sun
> Although it be not shone upon."

It argues well for the intelligence of the Loyalist settlers of Niagara that so early as 1800 they formed a large and select public

library of the best books of that day, which was liberally supported and, as the records of the library still preserved show, extensively used. In those days the cost of books was enormous compared to the price of them now. Books cost dollars then which cost only shillings now.

The prices given in the minutes make us admire the love of books and reading of those early settlers. This library was destroyed by the enemy with the burning of the town in 1813. After the war in 1815, a new library was formed—not equal to the first, however,—and in consequence of the general distress and poverty caused by the destruction of the town was not kept up like the first. A paper on the subject of this old early library was read by Miss Carnochan before the Canadian Institute, Toronto, in January, 1894, and is most interesting. I commend its perusal by all who are interested in the history of Niagara.

In 1848 a new library was formed by the Mechanics' Institute, a corporate body still in existence. It possesses a valuable, well selected library of books, about 4,000 in number, and takes in the leading English, Canadian and American magazines. It now occupies a very fine room in the court house building, and is well patronized and prosperous. The unique old library of the Rev. Dr. Addison, containing works of greatest value dating from the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, was happily preserved when the first library was burnt, from the circumstance that it was three miles out of town, at Lake Lodge, the residence of the reverend rector, then the headquarters of the British advance on Niagara.

Niagara has from the year 1792 almost always had a newspaper, sometimes two or three. The first was the *Official Gazette* in 1792; then the *Constellation*, published by Mr. Tiffany: then the *Niagara Spectator* and Wilcox's paper, the *Freeman*. These were before the war. After that period followed the *Gleaner*, by Mr. A. Heron; the *Niagara Reporter*, by Sewell; the *Niagara Chronicle*, by John Simpson; the *Niagara Mail*, by Alex. Davidson, afterwards by Wm. Kirby. The town has now one weekly paper, the *Times*.

From these old printing offices issued the first publication of books in Upper Canada. There was no restrictive copyright enactments to prevent the re-publication of English works in Canada.

Many re-publications of old, and the issue of new books written in Canada were made at a date when no other press in the Province had printed a book. Mr. Andrew Heron of the *Gleaner* reprinted many books, among them "The Life of Byron," "The Life of Mohammed," and excellent school books, which were used all over the Province, and other books now forgotten. Thomas Sewell printed the excellent history of the war of 1812 by David Thompson, late of the Royal Scots and a clever teacher of schools in Niagara. Rev. T. Fuller, afterwards Bishop of Niagara, published in Niagara some excellent works on farming and agricultural life generally. Major Richardson of the 44th Regiment, a native of Niagara, wrote here his novels of "Wacousta" and the "Canadian Brothers," and I think his "History of the Campaign in Michigan, 1812-1813," in which he was engaged. Alex. Davidson published a series of school books, very well compiled. Dr. Snow, a clever, eccentric physician, published a volume on metaphysics which nobody could understand, perhaps the fault of his readers. Mr. John Simpson published a volume of miscellanies, song books and the first extensive almanac in Upper Canada, which he afterwards sold out to McClear of Toronto, and it has continued as the "Canadian Almanac" to this day. In 1859 W. Kirby published an epic poem, "The U. E.," in his printing office, Niagara. His work, "Le Chien d'Or" was published in Montreal; his "Canadian Idyls" in Welland, also these "Annals of Niagara." An effort of memory might record other books, but the above will suffice to show that there was literary activity in the town before any other place in the Province had made a beginning in publication. Down to the present time literary ability has shown itself forward in writings of residents of the town, which although published elsewhere are to be credited among our possessions. Miss Joanna Wood of Queenston Heights has lately published in New York a very clever and successful novel, "The Untempered Wind," and is, I believe, writing more. Miss Janet Carnochan of Niagara has written here and published in Toronto some excellent brochures, chiefly historical: "A History of Two Frontier Churches," "A History of the Centennial of St. Andrew's," a sketch of Niagara, an account of the first public library in Niagara, and sketch of the parish library of St. Mark's, the gift of the Rev. Robert Addison,

first rector. The writer of this has written in Niagara and published in Montreal and Welland several books which have received praise if nothing more. So that it may be said old Niagara has never been without a witness of literary ability, more or less.

The old town is, as the reader will have gathered from the foregoing pages, a treasure house of historical monuments and memories lying at the very foundation of Ontario. It was first in all the efforts to introduce religion, civilization, law and culture in the new settlements of the Loyalists. The Constitution and Government of Upper Canada was first established by the Primitive Parliament of wise, practical men who met under Governor Simcoe on what was afterwards the site of Fort George. Here the first laws of British freedom were re-enacted, the right of trial by jury, the common law of England, and the first enactment passed by any state in the world for the abolition of negro slavery. The constitution they accepted from England and joyfully adopted for their new Province was in their estimation, what it is yet today, the freest and best constitution and instrument of government possessed by any state or union of states on the continent of America. Every Canadian knows this, and is proud of the fact that its natural effect has come like a fertilizing stream that irrigates the whole Dominion with peace, order, prosperity and patriotism.

The inhabitant of Niagara can say with truth, not unmingled with pride in his old town, that here also was established the first agricultural society in Upper Canada; here, too, the first public library, a large and valuable one, for the reading and instruction of its citizens, who were men able to appreciate such a full fountain of knowledge in their midst; here the first missionary led the way to the evangelization of the people—white, red and black—who had settled in the grand old forests, which their industry was turning into broad acres of corn land, meadows, orchards, and all the utilities of civilized life. Obedience to the teachings of religion and to the law, and respect for the magistrates appointed by the King were marked features of the people who made Upper Canada the noble country that it is—a land of rich possession, hope and promise of a future as one of the grandest members of the British Empire, now covering a great portion of the world. May it last forever.

I close these reminiscences of the town which has been my dwelling place nigh three score years, where I have lived in happiness with such drawbacks only as God in his providence allots to mortals for the wisest of ends, preparation for the eternal life which is in store for everyone born in the world, where he is to find and fix the ruling passion of his heart, which lives within him forever.

With wise good, old LaFontaine, at the end of his Fables, I repeat at the end of my story:

"Cette leçon sera la fin de mes ouvrages.
Puisse-t-elle etre utile aux siecles à venir!
Je la presente aux rois, Je la propose aux sages:
Par ou saurais Je mieux finir?"

This chapter ends my work. May it not fail
Of usefulness to times both far and near;
To sages and to kings I leave my tale,
And can't do better now than finish here.

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